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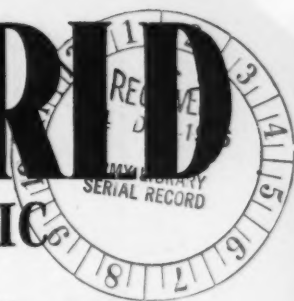
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LONDON

Volume X Number 11

NOVEMBER 1956

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AGGRESSION

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FUNDAMENTAL
PROBLEMS OF
COLONIALISM**

**THE HISTORIC
UNITY OF
VIET NAM**

FESTIVE PEKING

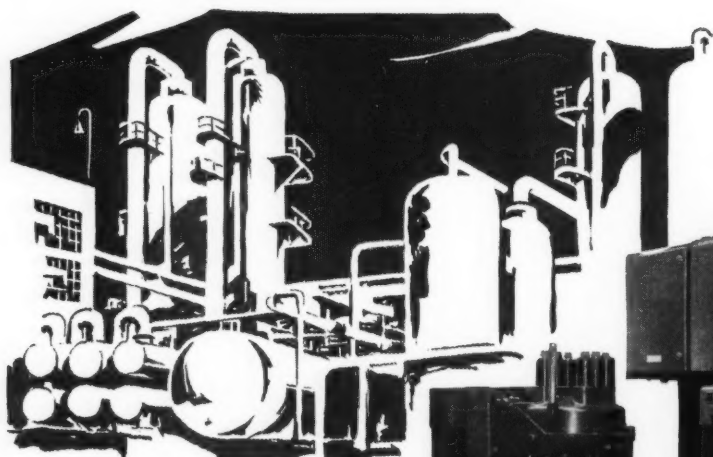
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**A CHAMPION
OF HINDI**

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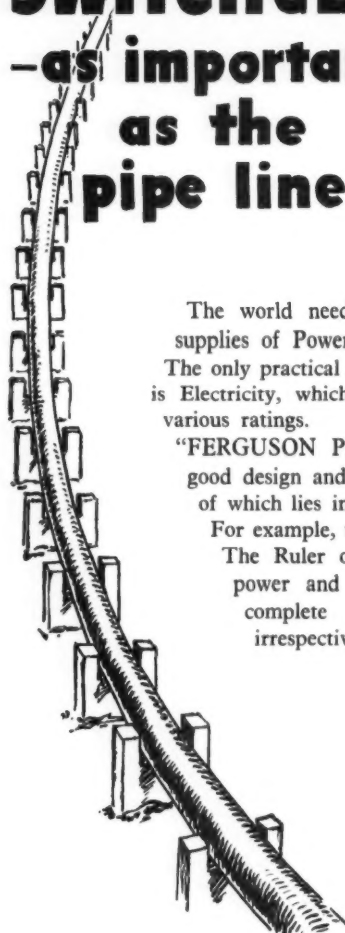
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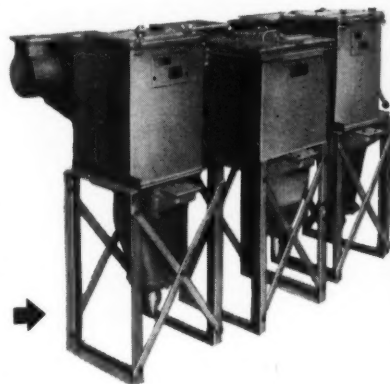
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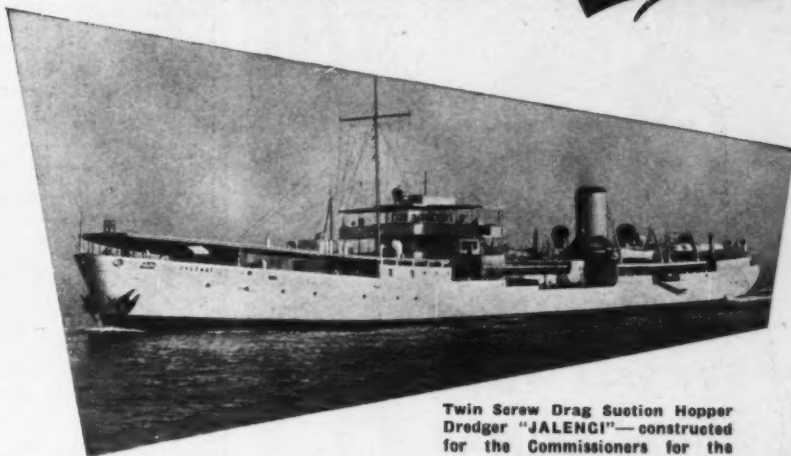
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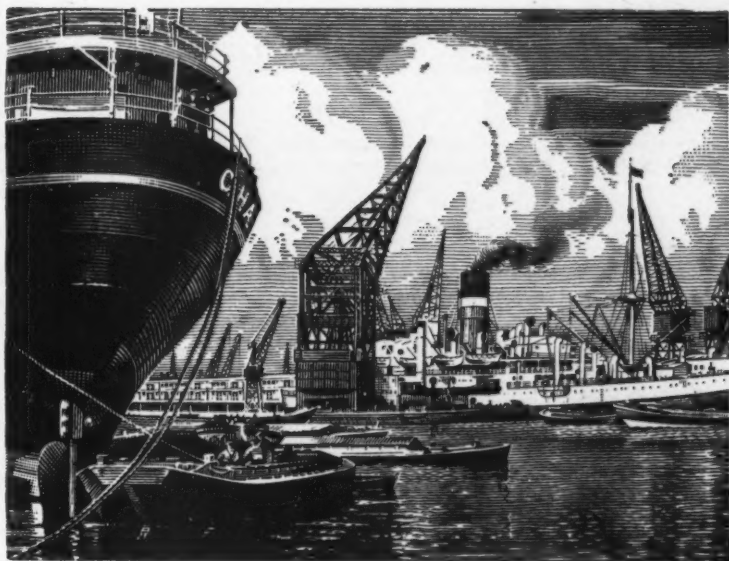
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58 PADDINGTON STREET, LONDON, W.1

TELEPHONE: WELBECK 7439

CABLES: TADICO, LONDON

EDITOR AND MANAGING DIRECTOR: H. C. TAUSSIG

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER: E. M. BIRD

SUBSCRIPTION; £1. 10. post free

AIR MAIL:—Subscriptions taken by air mail to all countries depend on cost of postage added to the basic subscription fee of £1. 10. (Present additional costs; £2. 14. p.a.)

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Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial opinions are published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of this paper.

EASTERN WORLD

London November 1956

AGGRESSION

NO matter what action the United Nations subsequently takes in the Middle East to settle the troubles of the area, no matter how willingly the Governments of Britain and France comply with United Nations wishes, the joint act of aggression will go down in history as one of the most disastrous events of the mid-twentieth century.

To uphold an imperialist notion—not, tragically, confined only to a few Conservatives—this country has forfeited its moral standing in the eyes of the world.

The British Government has made it clear since Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal that it would, no matter what the cost, attempt to regain control of this important waterway. No argument about separating the combatants, or the recent excuse of forestalling a Soviet threat to the Middle East, will be believed in the Afro-Asian countries. The military method employed was sufficient to convince anyone of the fallacy of any other motive than that of seizing the Canal. The whole venture must be seen for what it really was—an act of aggression to attain an objective denied the Eden Government by protracted negotiation or reasoned argument.

Is such a motive justified? If we believe the Charter of the United Nations to be the safeguard of what is right and just in international relations, then there never is a motive strong enough to justify an act of aggression. Outside the circumscription of international morality any nation can find selfish motives which seem to justify the use of force against another country, another people. This is what Britain and France have done in Egypt and the Soviet Union has done in Hungary. That is why these countries will for years stand condemned.

Britain and France, each for their own selfish reasons, took the law into their own hands. The British Government wanted control of the Suez Canal, complete control, and they tried to wrest it by force. This is the imperialist tendency that a man of Sir Anthony Eden's political training and background can never really shake off. It is not difficult to assume the mantle of a man of peace from a position of dominance.

And then there is the French Government, pathetic and mixed up, with not a lesson learnt from the debacle in Indo-

China, hanging on to Britain's coat tails in the whole reprehensible affair, hoping to strengthen its hold on French North African territories by acting tough towards the fountainhead of Arab agitation.

No one can yet tell whether the complete disregard of the wishes of the United Nations will have started the rot and whether the foundation is now laid for the forces of international anarchy to spread abroad in the world. The solidarity of the members of the General Assembly in opposing the attack on Egypt may have ensured the continued authority of the organisation. The action of Britain and France in flouting that authority in the first place left open the door through which Russia passed to commit her dastardly act in Hungary. No one will know whether the Soviet Army would still have been set against the Hungarian people if Britain and France had abided by United Nations authority, but there is every reason to suppose that Russia was emboldened.

What has aggression against Egypt achieved for the British Government? The oil has ceased to flow, for how long no one quite knows. The Canal has been blocked. Over and above these material disasters there are others of greater importance. If British policy has always been concerned to keep Soviet influence to a minimum in the Middle East, and at the same time to be the dominant western Power in the area, the act of attacking Egypt has undermined both. Russia will from now on make sure the Arab countries are kept strong, and by being friendly increase her influence; and America, by opposing the British venture, has perhaps lessened Arab suspicions of United States motives. To become the most important western Power in the eyes of the Arab world is obviously America's intention. The statements the American spokesman made in the General Assembly after the cease fire made that clear.

But perhaps the most serious damage has been done in the framework of East-West relations. The uncommitted countries of Asia, who have throughout the past few years thought of the United States as the country which, fundamentally, fails to understand Asian reactions, have been rocked back on their heels by the overt act of anachronistic British imperialism. The voice of the present British Govern-

ment will never be authoritative again in exchanges with the Far East. It is perhaps as well for Asian countries to take note of how deep and widespread was the disagreement in this country with the Eden Government's act. There are many people in Britain who have come to understand the viewpoint of Asian countries. These people are shocked and conscience-stricken by the aggression that has been undertaken in their name, and by the consequences that will in the future flow from it.

Those with a political awareness and understanding have recognised that a gulf has existed between ideas in Asia and

ideas in the West. It has been the purpose of some to try and close that gulf. Others have thought that Britain should demonstrate her superiority, and in this way she would become "great" and have the Asian countries flocking to her side. Prejudice still exists in this country, but it is to be hoped that the world's reaction to Britain's folly will lessen it. The damage done to our relations with Asia can never be undone by the existing Government. As these relations are vital—more vital in the long run than the Suez Canal—a change of Government is essential if Britain is to lift her head again.

POLITICAL VACUUM IN JAPAN

THE securing by Mr. Hatoyama, the Japanese Prime Minister, of a peace treaty with the Soviet Union last month has done nothing to bring the rival factions in the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party together. It has, if anything, helped towards fragmentation. There are so many groups within the party, and groups within groups, it is not a simple matter to follow, from day to day, what each separate group is seeking. The jockeying for power—and power has a lot of advantages in Japanese politics—by the various groups is certainly weakening the appeal of the Liberal-Democrats in the country. The Socialists stand by and watch the bickering with a certain amount of satisfaction.

By Mr. Hatoyama, and those who follow him, the treaty with Russia is regarded as opening up a new phase in Japan's external relations, but many people in Japan consider that the treaty signed in Moscow has not secured agreement on the most contentious of the outstanding issues—the return of the islands of Kunashiri and Etoforu which are very close to the northernmost part of the Japanese mainland. This territorial issue is, as everyone agrees in the country, vital to Japan for many reasons. In any case, the dispute over them with the Soviet Union has become a symbol in Japanese minds (most particularly in political quarters) of the steadfastness of Japan's desire to be completely sovereign and independent.

In the framework of Japanese politics there is more to it than this. Mr. Hatoyama secured certain assurances from Moscow which have brought satisfaction in some quarters. Prisoners will now be returned, Russia will now support Japan's nomination for United Nations membership, and trade channels with the Soviet Union will be opened up. But sensing certain feelings among Japanese people about Russia retaining the islands, and the consequences that retention can have for Japan in other directions, the warring factions in the Liberal-Democratic Party are happy to have an issue with which to lever the ailing Prime Minister out of office.

The various groups have been meeting constantly, each to find a way of forcing Mr. Hatoyama's retirement and to nominate a successor. The political scene in Japan in the last few weeks has been one of frantic confusion and strife. Every-

one knows that a successor who will satisfy all factions is practically impossible to find.

Why are there these cross-currents and this political ferment? Even observers in close contact with Japanese politics cannot say with certainty what considerations influence the minds of individual politicians or groups of politicians. But there are some disturbing factors which are discernible below the surface.

The Liberal-Democrats, being traditionally conservative, want to preserve a westernised pattern of free enterprise economy, but they do not want Japan to be created in the American image, nor to function under an American shadow. They think that the sort of Japan they envisage is not yet completely attainable because of restrictions which derive from Japan's being still considered in the world as a protégé of America. They take the view that if their ideas are to have any effect among the Japanese people, the country must have room for international political and economic manoeuvre. To achieve this the Liberal-Democrats consider it necessary to have a balanced relationship with Russia and the United States. Others also subscribe to this view, but for motives which are less alarming.

As long as the Russians continue to sit on the islands to the north, and the US maintains its military establishments in Japan and holds Okinawa, Japan's movement will be restricted. The Liberal-Democrats want to alter this situation, and make Japan a powerful nation again. They want to shake off the hangover of defeat. Much of the political disagreement with Mr. Hatoyama's mission in Moscow is that by failing to secure Russia's agreement to evacuate the islands of the south Kuriles, Japan is left no room and no argument with which to weaken American influence. Everyone knows that Russia will not depart from her positions close to Japan as long as American influence continues dominant in the country.

The various factions all have different views on how to tackle the situation, but their differences do not go as deep as it would seem. Some see Japan's future as becoming insecure if there is a sudden sharp break with America; others want

Japan to adopt an aloof line that would have the facade of neutralism; and yet others want to display quite openly an independent Japan, militarily strong enough to stand in every way on its own feet. The consideration of all of them, in the last analysis, is a "Japanised" Japan, strong and unassailable, holding the balance in Pacific affairs. This neither Russia nor America wants to see. People outside Japan, and particularly in Asia, want Japan to shake off US influence and improve relations with all countries, but Japan would be universally condemned if the reason for doing so was to

build up the substance of power. Knowing these things, the Liberal-Democrats are deeply divided on tactics. So it has been for months, with the country floating in a political vacuum. If it goes on there is every possibility that the Socialist Party (not itself free from factionalism, but nevertheless showing a front of unity) will gain control in the next elections. It would be a good thing if it did, for the Liberal-Democratic twisting of democratic procedures for undemocratic purposes will be disastrous for Japan in the long run.

Comment

Tangled Singapore

THE struggle that took place between troops and police and the Chinese in the streets of Singapore last month was a struggle for men's minds. The resentment that has smouldered among the Chinese population of the Colony leapt aflame, and the Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, has been at pains to make it generally known that the cause was the inflammatory tactics employed among the students by an influential group of Communist indoctrinated trade union leaders.

That Communism has been hard at work on the minds of the young Chinese there is no denying. The Chief Minister has shown great strength of mind in tackling the situation, and has been adroit in managing the issue so that it has not taken on a racial complexion. Mr. Lim's concern throughout the troubles has been to avoid giving the impression that the Singapore Chinese are, as a race, difficult to manage and not amenable to law and order. The existence of a turbulent Chinese population in Singapore will not only harden feelings in the British Colonial Office, but in the Government of Malaya, whose cooperation and support Singapore most certainly must have before the idea of independence becomes a reality.

Mr. Lim puts the blame on Communism for the physical show of discontent. He is right to do so, but even without pressure from the Communists, Singapore Chinese have many grievances which the Labour Front, first under David Marshall and now under Mr. Lim, has shown little inclination to do anything about. Although the arrest of left-wing leaders like Mr. Lim Chin Siong, a member of the Assembly who has been accused of inciting the students to riot, might put a curb on the rabble rousing, it will do nothing to solve the deeper and more abiding problem of getting to the root of the reasons for Chinese discontent.

Those reasons are manifold, and some are untenable. The grievances of the Chinese, not only in Singapore but in Malaya, about their status are understandable, but if a homogeneous Malayan nation, including Singapore, is eventually to be brought into being, any thought of a separate Chinese community living within a closed circle for the satisfaction and realisation of its own racial interests is in the long run impossible to sustain. To overcome this is the perennial problem in plural societies and in the case of Singapore,

Malaya or elsewhere in South-East Asia where Chinese have settled, much depends upon the attitude of Peking. Even with Peking's expressed agreement that overseas Chinese should consider themselves to be nationals of the countries in which they live, it is still not a problem that can be solved overnight.

The Labour Front Government in Singapore, however, must begin to make a determined effort to sort out the existing grievances of the Chinese and tackle them with as much resolution as it has shown in dealing with the unrest. The most effective way to combat the influence of the Communists is for Mr. Lim and his Government to make the Chinese problems their own.

Without the support of the Singapore Chinese, Mr. Lim cannot hope to achieve any sort of success in his forthcoming negotiations for independence. And the way Singapore gets its independence is critical for the relations between East and West generally. Mr. Lim has a great responsibility thrust upon him. He has so far shown he can hit back hard and give measure for measure in the game of politics. He has yet to show that he can unravel the tangle of problems that is retarding Singapore's steady stride to self determination.

Half A World To China

WHEN Mr. Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, visited China the other week he was able to pray in a mosque alongside Chinese Muslims. He, together with dignitaries of the Islamic religion who went from Pakistan to China recently, has been able to confirm the complete tolerance shown towards Muslims in China. There have been other signs from Peking in recent months of China's desire to show the vast Islamic areas of the Middle East and south Asia that Muslims have nothing to fear from Chinese Communists.

The concept of pan-Islamism, so much discussed of late, is one against which Marxist thinking would, or should, react, but there has been scarcely a word of criticism, let alone condemnation, emanating from Peking. Why this gentle tolerance towards Islam? China has shown, at the Bandung conference and since, that she recognised the strength of the Afro-Asia bloc in world affairs and in the Assembly of the United Nations. And she has been quick to take note of the

unifying effect of Islam in the face of the West's provocative policies in the Middle East. By displaying sympathy, friendship, and understanding for Muslim countries in their denial of the West, China becomes an integral part of the great anti-colonial movement, not only in Asia proper, but in an area from Morocco and Algeria across half the world to the China Sea.

This is not a new conception, but China has recognised that sympathies are crystallising into something tangible in international affairs. China is able to see the advantage of having an Algerian, for instance, take comfort from the thought that he has religious brothers half a world away deeply concerned about his cause. By giving support, backed by offers of trade, to Muslim countries and communities in their relations with the governments of the western hemisphere, China can widen her sphere of influence, and at the same time secure the interested support of Muslim countries for China's claim to her rightful seat in the United Nations.

Naga Trouble

THE Nagas in India's north-east are still giving trouble, and military operations have been stepped up in an effort to bring peace to the region. The Government in Delhi has tackled the problem with firmness, for it obviously does not want a situation to develop in the North-East Frontier Agency that would have results as troublesome as those which have bedevilled the exercise of proper administration in the tribal areas of Burma. Unrest and discontent in the remote north-east of India, not far from the borders of a watchful China, is something that causes deep concern in Delhi.

It is not easy to judge how deep the desire for a separate Naga state goes among the Naga people, because news and information from Assam is scant. The extensive activities of terrorist elements indicate that in those areas administered by the Assam Government there is a considerable amount of support for the idea. The central Government is anxious to prevent a spread of the revolt to the centrally administered areas.

It goes without saying that for India to concede the idea of an independent Naga state within the Republic would be a retrograde step. But reports have it that not enough attention has been paid by the Assam Government to understanding the customs and culture of these tribal people. This is why the Indian Home Minister, Pandit Pant, has had to step in and take a hand. The task in the Naga hills is not only one of restoring law and order, but of enlightened administration among a primitive people whose horizons scarcely take in anything but the preservation of their own ancient way of life.

Hong Kong Riots

Our Hong Kong Correspondent writes:

THE serious riots which took place in Hong Kong last month lasted for two days, during which time large portions of Kowloon, opposite the island, went out of the control of the Government. At least 58 persons were killed,

358 persons injured, and about a hundred factories and shops were burned, smashed or looted. During the several days' curfew after the actual rioting some 5,000 arrests were made.

The trouble began with a minor incident in which the Government Agent of a resettlement in the heart of Kowloon forbade the refugees to put up posters on the buildings to celebrate October 10, the National Day of the Nationalists, and this led to the smashing of the resettlement office and the beating up of the agent by the angry crowds. But after a few hours the nature of the riots changed, and it was turned into anti-Communist rioting with the leftist workers' unions and schools and stores dealing in products from China as the main target of attack.

No one is in any doubt that the rioting was organised and planned. But the question is, who organised or planned it? The left wing papers in Hong Kong positively affirmed it was the working of the KMT special agents, but the Government say that secret societies were mainly responsible. There are also a few who would have us believe that it was staged by the Communists behind the scenes, but no honest observer can accept this theory. To all appearances Kuomintang elements had a hand in this affair, though it was not necessarily done upon instructions from Taiwan (Formosa). There are thousands of former KMT soldiers and officials in Hong Kong who escaped to the Colony when the Communists gained control of Canton. Part of these have been absorbed in the local working class, some eke out a precarious living, and there are still several thousand who exist on relief. These people hate the Communists very much, and the majority of them are under the influence of KMT organisations. They are generally hardy, resolute, and more subject to agitation than reason.

Then there are the members of secret societies. According to official estimation there are more than 50,000 such parasitic elements in Hong Kong, who live on the rest of the Chinese community by various means—from extorting money from the prostitutes to acting as hired murderers. The KMT recruit many of these into their camp and the latter are only too willing to be thus given a political cover, and enjoy the honour of being called patriots. The Government began several months ago to take measures against the secret societies, but it is an open secret that in some respects they are useful to the police.

In the eyes of Peking, the Hong Kong authorities were too indulgent with the KMT elements, and somewhat too slow and not drastic enough in suppressing the rioting. This was, of course, denied by the Hong Kong authorities.

Hong Kong has now returned to normal, but there is no certainty that riots of the same nature will not occur again. Indeed, the mildness, not to say weakness, shown by the police during the disturbances may have rather emboldened the disruptive elements, who may soon be prepared for another trial of strength. The old problems still remain, and overcrowding and poor living conditions breed bad feelings. The Government can do little with the undesirable elements. It certainly cannot deport them, for neither Taiwan nor mainland China will have them. Many of those deported in the past have found their way back.

What ought not to be lost sight of is that the rioting was originally caused by a quarrel between the Government Agent and tenants in the resettlement area. The trouble was largely an explosion of the hatred against arrogant officials. With this mentality prevailing, rioting can easily set off in the direction of xenophobia.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF COLONIALISM

By *Hussein Alatas*

THE problems left behind after a period of colonialism fall into three categories. One is the purely physical and material problem, incorporating agriculture, communications and housing. The second is the problem of organisation, economic relations, political administration, education, social welfare, and industrialisation. The third problem is sociological, psychological, and moral, and the greatest damage occasioned by colonialism is precisely in this field. since it hampers the solution to other difficulties.

Under colonialism, education was largely directed towards the creation of intellectuals who formed the ruling group. Following the attainment of independence these intellectuals rose to the helm of affairs, replacing the former regime. What is partially a serious problem with this group is the fact that to begin with their attitudes, their modes of thought, their values, have become westernised at least in so far as political action is concerned. Secondly, this group lacks a well-integrated system of thought and beliefs, since a synthesis between their own cultural heritage and modern western thought has not been achieved. A feeling of inferiority implicit in their behaviour is certainly due to the more general historical and social setting, since it is recognised that if one country is dominated by another for a considerable length of time, a section of the populace feel that their weakness is inherent in their way of life, and regard that of the dominating one as the cause of their superiority and strength. To get rid of this feeling of inequality they adopt the way of imitation. The classification of this group is not based on political concepts. They are to be found amongst those who are progressive or reactionary, for or against immediate independence, the high and the low economic classes, officials and civilians alike.

The history of colonial societies has shown how the forceful introduction of western institutions has created chaos and maladjustments in their social structure. The incursion of western thought into the intellectual world of the native elites brought about similar results. This, coupled with other influences such as the feeling of cultural inferiority, has made them more susceptible and more receptive towards western thought and modes of life without consideration as to their merits if practised in their own society.

The wholesale importation of ideas from the western world to eastern societies can only be successful if based upon

carefully thought out planning, for shorn of their socio-historical setting such ideas are liable to create only confusion and maladjustment.

Here it might be useful to make some definitions about the nature of thought. One is that a thought or idea is never existing alone by itself, thus for instance our condemnation of murder is related to our conceptions of justice and humanity. Secondly, the potency of an idea as an operative force moulding the collective life of man is very much conditioned by the intensity of its emotional appeal. This significant distinction must be borne in mind in an effort to understand the effect of thought transplantation from the western world to the societies of the East.

Western economic systems, methods of government, law, ideas of democracy, procedure of election, conception of welfare, and a host of many others, have been uncritically adopted and advocated by a section of the eastern elites without first checking their feasibility and validity in their own societies.

For example, the separation of the state from religion as far as modern Europe is concerned is a necessary and logical step in its present stage of development. But amongst Islamic people the unity between religion and state has had different effects and offers other means of development. The idea of a state founded on secular ideals would not have the same operative potency for the masses in the Islamic countries as it would have if it were based on religion, for the idea of the state being part of a religious social order has great emotional appeal to the bulk of the Muslim population. The same could be said with ideas related to the other domains of human activity. This whole phenomenon of uncritical transmission of thought can be regarded as unconscious continuation of colonialism not in the political but in the cultural sense. Thus colonialism in its more fundamental aspects is by far from becoming a moribund force. The forces which it has released and nurtured in the course of centuries are still actively moving towards crises and disturbances.

Yet another serious problem faced by former colonies is that of corruption. Corruption itself could be divided into three types. One comprises bribery, theft, embezzlement, extortion, and so on. The second is political corruption involving both individuals and groups. This type of corruption usually takes the form of striving for party or individual interests without moral considerations. The third type of corruption is the weakening of the moral impulse expressed by an attitude of comparative indifference towards corruption

Mr. Alatas is an Indonesian research student at present studying at The Hague in the Netherlands.

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itself and other vices. Colonialism has helped to generate the second and third type of corruption in no small degree. The first type of corruption is usually caused by backward socio-economic conditions, and as such is simpler to restrain than the other two. But we have instances from the independent states of Asia and Africa of corruption raging furiously for more than a decade after the attainment of independence, and in some cases the socio-economic conditions actually worsened. But if the ruling power as a whole is not weakened by the two other types of corruption, nothing can prevent it from bettering social and economic conditions but the methods, the attitude, and the moral integrity required to solve the existing problems of societies formerly colonial have, by an unhappy combination of factors and circumstances, become respectively problems in themselves.

This problem is connected with colonialism in the sense that it has been prepared by it. If the ruling power under the colonial regime showed no respect for justice, for ethical principles, social welfare and other things, we cannot expect that the group of people who succeeded them would be completely immune from the influence of past colonial rule. This seems to be a phenomenon of sociological upheaval. Alexis de Tocqueville in *L'Ancien Régime* makes this observation in connection with the Reign of Terror and the abuses of the French Revolution: "... a great number of the methods used by the revolutionary government had precedents and examples in the measures adopted towards the common

people during the last two centuries of the monarchy. The 'old order' furnished the Revolution with many of its forms; the latter only added to them the ferocity of its temper."

We have so far discussed the fundamental problems connected with colonialism. These problems in turn need a solution, but the very method and process of solving them have themselves become a problem, the most vital and fundamental problem of all. Under this type of problem fall such phenomena as uncritical transplantation of thought from the West to the former colonies, the continuation of the process of forcefully introducing western institutions without the necessary caution, and the assumption of a corrupt attitude by an influential section of the leading group. In other words the most urgent problem in the now independent colonies is that of leadership, taken in the widest sense of the word. How can this be solved?

In the writer's opinion we could do this in two ways, one involving long term planning, the other to be immediately realised. Immediate measures involve the elimination of corruption. The other one is the introduction of long term planning not only on the primary level like a five year plan for industrialisation, but also in the more fundamental aspects. This planning should serve, so to say, as the framework around which the other schemes for ensuring the primary requirements of life should be built. This framework would have its roots in religious traditions if only for the fact that religion is the most intact, the most natural, the most potent and the most comprehensive of all the forces present in the former colonial societies. To uproot religion is to push colonialism to its most extreme form.

A vigilant watch has to be kept on the development of the whole planning, since in the process of social and economic changes certain ideas and schemes have often to be modified or even dropped. Lastly, a vigorous defence of its perpetuation must be put up if the situation requires it. Only in this way can we hope to divert the trend of historical developments of the once dominated societies into their natural courses. Whether this natural course can be recovered and would be more beneficial than its perverted form, or whether its perverted form is more desirable at the moment, is an issue beyond the scope of this article. But it is sufficient to say that judged by any standards and by sound scientific reasoning, the present state of the independent colonies, call it transition or anything else, is neither normal nor healthy. To allow these countries to drift in the manner of Europe following the Industrial Revolution would be catastrophic. To allow the negative forces released by colonialism to continue unchecked is an invitation to disaster. The only alternative is the execution of a sound and profound planning of the type mentioned just now. This should be our answer to colonialism, not demagoguery, xenophobia, not an empty glorification of the past, or bombastic speeches, not an attitude of laxity towards truth and virtue, and neglect of the common welfare. Every problem faced by a society in a given time and place, is an intellectual and moral problem and for this reason our attempt to solve the problems created by colonialism must evidently be based on thought, action and moral values.

*Writing Asian History—2***THE HISTORIC UNITY OF VIET NAM**

By P. J. Honey

This is the second in the series of articles by the younger generation of historians on the writing of Asian history in the light of changing conditions in Asia. Mr. Honey is a lecturer in Vietnamese at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. He has frequently written and broadcast on Viet Nam. A Vietnamese-English dictionary which he is at present compiling will be completed shortly.

SOME years ago I sat in a Paris café with a few French friends. As is usual under such circumstances, a discussion was in progress. I cannot now recall what was being discussed, but only that it was a subject of which I knew nothing and that mine was merely the rôle of a listener. Opinions were evenly divided, and eventually I was begged to state my views. When I disclaimed any knowledge of the topic, one exasperated Frenchman exclaimed, "You may not have any knowledge of it, but you must surely have an opinion!" A large number of opinions expressed about the situation in Viet Nam today have approximately the same value as mine would have had under such circumstances. Those who express them have little or no knowledge of the present realities in that country and of the train of events which led up to them. At the outbreak of the Vietnamese civil war in 1946 Viet Nam had been a French possession for nearly a century and the country was known to very few foreigners except the French. During and since the Geneva conference of 1954 countless opinions have been voiced about how the difficulties in Viet Nam should be resolved.

It will be remembered that, as a result of the Geneva conference, Viet Nam was divided into two halves at the 17th parallel. The northern half was placed under the control of the Communist Viet Minh Government and now calls itself the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, while the southern half, now known as the Republic of Viet Nam, is ruled by a non-Communist Government. At the time of the division of the country roughly a million people fled from the northern part to the southern because they felt they could not live under the Communist regime, and many more would have gone had they not been prevented by the obstructive tactics and physical violence employed against them by the Communists. The position today is that the two halves of the country are effectively sealed off from one another, there being no traffic, trade, nor even postal services between them. The Communist Government of the Democratic Republic is now pressing hard for the reunification of the country by means of national elections, basing its case upon the unsigned Declaration of Intent made at the conclusion of the Geneva conference. This, however, is not one of the signed agreements. The non-Communist Republic, which did not sign the Geneva agreements, claims that the Declaration of Intent specifies free and secret national elections. The holding of free and secret elections, it claims, is quite impossible in a Communist state. This Government has, therefore, consistently refused to meet representatives of the Communist Government to discuss the holding of national elections and

will, presumably, continue to do so as long as the Government of the northern part remains Communist.

Typical of the comment on the situation by those who, for one reason or another, favour the re-unification of Viet Nam, are the accounts of the unbroken unity of the Vietnamese nation over thousands of years, the tales of a Viet Nam which lived in peace, prosperity, and unity for thousands of years until this ideal civilisation was subjected to French colonialism and left divided by the departure of the colonial oppressor in 1954. Other commentators paint in glowing colours the picture of a civilisation which was old when Europe was still in a state of barbarism, of a highly civilised society living in harmony and amity for countless centuries alongside its benevolent neighbour China. One most surprising phrase which has been much used of late, particularly in the press and radio of the Democratic Republic, is "The historic friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples." Such comment runs contrary to all that is known of the history of Viet Nam, and the reason for it must be either a complete ignorance of the past of Viet Nam or George Orwell's "double-think" in practice.

This is not the place for a full account of Vietnamese history. Much research still remains to be done on this subject, but such information as is available may be found on the shelves of specialist libraries. Some remarks ought to be made, however, in order to correct the wrong impressions left by so many of the recent fanciful writings about it.

The name Viet Nam is of comparatively recent origin and was given to the country by the emperor Gia Long at the beginning of the 19th century. The territory occupied by the Vietnamese people has been known by different names at different periods, Van Lang, Au Lac, Giao Chi, Nam Viet, Dai Co Viet, to name but some. It will avoid confusion if the name Viet Nam is used throughout rather than the actual name by which the territory was known during any particular period.

In the earliest periods of Vietnamese history, the legendary Hong Bang age, the Thuc and Trieu dynasties, Viet Nam was only a fraction of its present size. Although its exact boundaries are not known, it is certain that it was situated in southern China and northern Tonking. Little is known of this period. In the year 111 BC Viet Nam was captured by China and became part of the Chinese Empire. This Chinese domination of Viet Nam lasted for over a thousand years. There are records of revolts by the Vietnamese against their Chinese masters throughout this long period, but it was not until 939 AD that the Chinese were driven out. They



again established themselves in Viet Nam in 1413 AD but were finally driven out in 1427 AD. Most of the popular Vietnamese heroes and heroines, Lê Loi, the Trung sisters, and the rest, became so by fighting against the Chinese oppressors. The Vietnamese people have, perhaps, better reason than any other for their understanding and fear of Chinese imperialism. After the second World War the Chinese occupied northern Viet Nam, whence they were removed only with the very greatest difficulty, and this short occupation provided a salutary reminder of China's unchanged attitude towards Viet Nam. Today, when one speaks to Vietnamese people about China, one senses their deep suspicion and antipathy towards their more powerful neighbour. So much for the "Historic friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples."

When her independence from China was won, Viet Nam turned her attention towards the south and her neighbour Champa. The history of the following centuries is a story of Vietnamese expansion southwards into territory which she wrested from Champa, territory known today as Annam. In internal Vietnamese affairs this was a period of strife between the great families, the Tran, the Mac, the Trinh, and the rest. The emperors were of the Lê dynasty, but virtually all power was taken from them and was wielded by the Chúas, or governors. The emperor became little more than the country's religious leader. At the turn of the 17th century, the Chúa of the southern territory, which was then known as Cochin China but is not identical with the Cochin China of today, broke away from the north and established a self-contained state. In 1620 the Chúa of Cochin China refused to send tribute to the Lê emperor, and in 1627 the Chúa of Tonking attacked Cochin China. This war between Tonking and Cochin China continued for roughly half a century when, each side concluding that it could not overcome the other, the hot war developed into a prolonged cold war. Hot and cold wars together spanned nearly two centuries, and continued until the revolt of the Tây Sơn rebels threw the whole of Viet Nam into a state of civil war during the 1770s. It is worth noting that, throughout the whole of this war between Tonking and Cochin China, the dividing line between the two states was the 17th parallel, the line which divides them today.

At the beginning of the 19th century the emperor Gia,

Long conquered the whole of Viet Nam and unified the country. But this unity was not to last, for the French, when they gained control of Viet Nam during the second half of the 19th century, divided the country into three regions, Tonking, Annam, and Cochin China. Tonking and Annam became French Protectorates, while Cochin China became a colony, a state of affairs which persisted until the past few years. These are the facts which lie behind the "Historic unity of Viet Nam."

All of this is in no way an attempt to justify the division of Viet Nam or a plea for the retention of the dividing line. This division, at the social level, has meant the dismemberment of families, the abandonment of homes and lands by people who have inhabited and cultivated them for generations, and the creation of an enormous refugee mass in Cochin China. At the economic level, it has meant the cutting off of the principal food-producing area from the area in which are found the mines and most of such industry as Viet Nam possesses. The most that can be said for the Geneva settlement is that it has ended the war, it has enabled many Vietnamese to whom Communism is repugnant to live under a non-Communist Government, and it has gone some way towards restoring the balance of population between the over-populated Tonking and the under-populated Cochin China. There is today a new feeling of nationalism among the Vietnamese people. All would like Viet Nam to be united and to have one central government. Opinions are, however, divided about how this unity should be achieved and there are many who think that the price to be paid for unity is, at present, too great.

One further factor, which is all too frequently overlooked by political commentators seeking historical parallels to justify the conclusions which they draw, is the enormous change which has taken place in Vietnamese thought and life over the past century. Until the 19th century Viet Nam had been almost closed to the outside world and its rulers xenophobic to a high degree. China had invaded and governed Viet Nam for a long period, but the rest of the world had exercised little or no influence upon her. European merchants set up factories in Viet Nam during the 17th century, but it is clear from their accounts that they found it impossible to trade freely with the people and were always hedged around by the mandarins. Christian missionaries achieved a closer relationship with the Vietnamese people, but the history of the missions is one of recurring persecution. When France began to colonise Viet Nam in the 19th century, she found she was dealing with a civilisation and a people which had reached a state of complete stagnation. A knowledge of Chinese characters and classical texts was the highest aim of Vietnamese scholars, while society and social conditions had not changed for centuries.

Now the most outstanding feature of the Vietnamese character is its remarkable capacity for assimilating foreign ideas and institutions. Proof of this is the extent to which Viet Nam assimilated the civilisation of China during the Chinese colonial period. If further proof is needed, one has only to observe the assimilation of western thought and ideas

(Continued on page 49)

ASIAN SURVEY

FESTIVE PEKING

By H. C. Taussig (EASTERN WORLD Editor, now touring China)

THUNDEROUS ovations greeted Indonesia's President Sukarno when his 2-engined Soviet aircraft which had brought him from Moscow via Mongolia, landed at Peking Airport on September 30, the eve of China's National Day. He stepped into brilliant sunshine and right into an ocean of flowers, flags and people. There to welcome him were Chairman Mao Tse-tung—only once before, to meet Ho Chi Minh, did he go to greet an official visitor personally at the airfield—together with most of the leading members of his Government. There were the Diplomatic Corps, guards of honour, military bands, and the entire paraphernalia of a large-scale State reception. But most of all there were children. Jubilant, flag-waving, shouting, flower-presenting youngsters who, in their hundreds of thousands also packed the entire 20-mile route into town.

I travelled in one of the cars of the endless, slow-moving convoy following the open limousine with the two heads of State. The crowd had lost nothing of its accumulated enthusiasm, though it had been standing expectantly for many hours. Framed within the car window were thousands of friendly, smiling faces, with bright eyes, full of curiosity and cheering everyone, including myself, with the same sincerity and intensity as if I were Mao himself. The charm, kindness and warmth which these young people displayed was something infectious. Paper flowers and flags were handed into my car, and when the column came to an occasional stop, the clapping, waving and cheering continued to an almost embarrassing degree as I was forced to adopt appropriate attitudes to justify such appraisal. The Chinese have the delightful but disconcerting custom of clapping their hands at those they wish to honour, and expect those thus acclaimed to clap back. While I can comply with this custom for a few fleeting moments, I find it extremely difficult to adjust my modesty to such an extent as to face an applauding audience of adorable and apparently adoring young Chinese for more than five minutes. My first naive impulse was to explain that I was not, in fact, an immortal. Not just yet. But then, looking into the flushed, excited faces shouting "Long Live Peace!" and "Long Live. . . !" whatever is good and friendly and honest, I realised that it was quite immaterial to them who I was. I belonged to the procession, I was a symbol and part of the festivity. It was a phenomenon of good will, and the experience helped me to understand some of the basic, most pleasant traits of the Chinese character.

That evening the galaxy of Peking, Chinese and visitors, assembled at the largest and most important reception of the year with Premier Chou En-lai as the host. With Mao Tse-tung and Sukarno flanking him at the rostrum, he delivered a short but significant speech in which he said that China had "no reason whatsoever to be contented with the achievements attained." She should keep on learning with modesty from the peoples of all other countries, and he invited friends from different countries particularly to "give us

stringent criticisms for any tendency towards great-nation chauvinism and self-conceit." Such criticisms would be regarded by China as the most friendly gesture towards her people.

The National Day itself, October 1, suffered under a meteorological caprice: it poured. Peking's drenched and disappointed millions pressed themselves along the pavements and around the Tien An Men, the Gate of Heavenly Peace, from where Mao Tse-tung, together with other Government and party leaders would take the parade.

But the disappointment did not last for long, as the procession, the biggest show Asia has to offer, turned out just as impressive as if it had been conducted in the usual sunny weather of former occasions. The old walls of the Forbidden City trembled under the salvoes and the tunes of massed military bands, while the road shook and splashed under the wheels of heavy armoured vehicles and guns of the Army of Liberation or under the steps of the soldiers. These detachments marched with a precision which would have caused envy even in Prussia. The only part of the military parade which had to be cancelled owing to the weather calamity was the flight of the first China-built jet planes.

Chinese have two outstanding acoustic qualities: they are impervious to any amount of noise, and they can produce



Students in the National Day procession

the most impressive volume of it with the most modest means. Under these circumstances one can imagine that the hundreds of thousands who followed in the civilian parade were able to dispel any gloom which a few hours of heavy rain will cast on even the most enthusiastic spectators. The scene was fas-

cinating: the wide avenue was suddenly filled with swarming, shouting, jubilant humanity. What did it matter that they were soaked, that their clothes, paper-flowers, banners and flags clung to them in this watery mess?

The workers were carrying posters, but not a single picture of Mao—China's answer to the "one-man" cult. But their placards told of production figures and wage increases or over fulfilment of the 5-year plan. Others simply carried models of their products. Cars, locomotives, ships, power stations, giant models of whole mines, were swaying over the heads of the chanting, happy masses marching 100 abreast. The climax of the excitement was during the filing past of the students who managed to turn tumult into ecstasy.

Nor was this all; members of the theatrical profession followed, performing the traditional lion and dragon dances, or walking on stilts clad in the costumes of the most popular heroes of the Peking Opera plays, while superbly arranged tableaux represented scenes from the most beloved operas. These displays were quite perfect in their beauty, harmony and precision, a quality which was shared by the athletes who made up the end of the procession with mass exercises with the help of coloured flags, which belonged to the most impressive display of the day.

The whole gigantic manipulation of half a million people which had started at 10 a.m. precisely, ended on the dot of 2 p.m. exactly as planned, not one second earlier or later. This impressive, absolute control of the masses on the one hand, and the utter self-discipline of the people on the other, could be seen immediately afterwards when the cheering multitude surged towards Mao's tribune only to be stopped at a certain point by a single cordon of hand-locking police.

The weather relented in the evening and people started to dance in the streets while fireworks turned the sky into fantastic patterns of Chinese embroidery. These dances were of a sober, nearly phlegmatic kind, and bore no resemblance to similar popular jollifications in France or Brazil. People



This picture taken by Mr. Taussig shows Chinese leaders at the airport to meet President Sukarno. Left to right: Yu Shing-ching, Master of Protocol, Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung, and Chou En-lai

milled slowly and leisurely through the trafficless avenues, and here and there a circle would form and a tiny band would spring up from nowhere and a few couples would turn in some measured folk dance. Altogether a calm, dignified, self-possessed and quite unbelievably happy crowd.

This relaxation continued all through the following day, when the Government gave a garden party in the imperial summer Palace, 20 miles from Peking. This enormous estate, with its beautiful lake, eave-roofed temples and palaces was thrown open to the guests. Refreshments of the choicest kind, ranging from champagne to caviare and Peking duck were offered in innumerable pavilions, bands played for dancing couples in front of pagodas while imperial dragon boats cruised past idyllic islets and marble bridges. Tibetans, Uighurs from Sinkiang, Yao from Kwantung, Yi, Moïs and other national minorities in their magnificent costumes danced or just stood looking picturesque in the sun.

But even this feast was not the end of the celebrations. That evening a performance of Peking Opera was given in the hall of the National People's Congress. It was a selection of the best and most treasured scenes of their kind. Unsurpassable was an episode from "The Drunken Beauty," a typical Chinese classical play describing the disappointment of Yang Yu-huan, the Emperor Ming's (713-756) favourite concubine. That particular evening she does not seem to have been the favourite, for the Emperor fails to keep his rendezvous in the Pavilion of Hundred Flowers. The imperial concubine waits in vain. She gazes at the moon, watches the mandarin ducks and goldfish under the Jade Bridge, starts drinking alone and eventually gets drunk. Her grief and disappointment, the slow realisation that the royal lover will not turn up, her touching attempts to distract her mind by smelling flowers and playing drunken games holding the wine cup in her mouth, were performed with a grace and perfection which bordered on the sublime. With this went the precious costumes, the delicate bouquet of ladies-in-waiting, the bowing eunuchs and the telling, compelling music. So ended the prolonged festivities of China's National Day.

EAST AND WEST

(QUARTERLY)

Published by

**ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL
MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE**

(Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East) (Is. M.E.O.)

since 1950

Director - - Prof. Giuseppe TUCCI

Assistant Director Prof. Mario BUSSAGLI

Editor - - Massimo SCALIGERO

★

ADMINISTRATIVE AND EDITORIAL OFFICES

via Merulana, 248 (Palazzo Brancaccio)
ROMA, Italy

PRICE OF EACH NUMBER - - 80 CENTS USA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION - - 2.50 DOL. USA

CHINESE IN NORTH BURMA

From A Special Correspondent in Rangoon

SINCE September 5, when Thailand's Prime Minister Pibul Songgram officially acknowledged the presence of Communist troops in Burma border territory and stigmatised it as "aggression," the situation has been given wider recognition by the Burma Government and press. The official attitude is that no comments should be made while negotiations are taking place between the Governments of Burma and the Chinese People's Republic, and some attempts have been made to clamp down on press opinion. This has widened the cleavage between the pro-Russian and pro-western *bloc* sections, and each has accused the other of being a "stooge" of foreign Powers. Hints have even been given that the pro-Communist newspapers have been "influenced" by more than ideological considerations to hush up or defend the Chinese activities.

The points where Chinese troops are now established lie between Boundary Pillars 43 and 48, at least five of these points being close to passes leading across the mountains into Yunnan. The reports further show that the invaders have taken possession of passes leading into the Myitkyina district from the east, thus covering vital lines of communication leading into and out of Burma. The significance of this to Burma lies in the important part these passes play in the implementation of security measures, since to lose control of them means that there can be no way of preventing mass immigration into the country over routes that have been used for centuries past.

The Burma Government continues, at least officially, to hold confidence in China's adherence to the Bandung principles of coexistence, but with the passage of time without any reassuring governmental statements on this issue public feeling is becoming strained. Kachin students of Rangoon University met in September and issued a press statement in which they denounced the Chinese incursions in the following words: "As students coming from one of the areas of the Union which are currently involved in the border crisis we are in constant receipt of news from our parents, relatives, friends and acquaintances confirming press reports that blatant Chinese aggression in our State is an ugly reality." After defining the nature of the border dispute the statement continues: "The Chinese have violated Burmese territory by invading the Wa States. They occupy an area of about 1,000 square miles with some 1,500 troops. These have fired on Burma Army columns. Not satisfied with this the Chinese have entered into Putao and Sadon subdivisions of the Kachin State with over 3,000 troops. They have been building roads and strengthening posts there. Furthermore, troops are being concentrated along the border from Putao to the Kunlong ferry." The statement ends with a call to the Burma Government to take strong action for protection of the sovereign rights of the country, and expresses the willingness of the Kachin students to take up arms in the defence of their State and the whole of the Union.

The pro-Communist press has not been slow to counter this with accusations that the Kachin students have been used as stooges by American imperialists. One English-language daily, which is strongly influenced by the Com-

munist MP, U Thein Pe Myint, and has consistently sought to minimise and excuse the Chinese incursions, openly charged the newspapers which have been publishing the facts with being in the pay of the Americans, but there is more reason to believe that the truth is the exact opposite, since the particular newspaper in question does not bear a very good reputation.

The Burma Government itself is in a difficult position. While it is quite aware of the danger of the situation it does not wish popular feeling to be excited. Unable to deal with the military problem alone, the leaders hesitate to seek outside aid for fear of involving the country in a duplicate of the Korean war. There can be no question of a boundary dispute, since the accepted demarcation has clearly been violated by the Chinese, whose action in destroying certain boundary posts in the course of their advance leaves no room for the excuse of misunderstanding. For the present the Burmese Government still hopes to settle the matter amicably by getting the Chinese to withdraw their troops. If, however, they are unable to achieve a settlement along these lines it is difficult to see how they can continue to tolerate an infringement of the sovereign rights and independence of the Union without losing the confidence of the Burmese people. The facts of the incursion are too widely known and well established to be ignored indefinitely. Meanwhile, the effect of this on the stability of Burma's economic position is another factor to be taken into account. The last budget has failed to convince the financial experts that Burma's economic position is a sound one, and the growing uneasiness caused by the border dispute, with all its possible implications, is not likely to promote a healthy confidence in Burmese trade and commercial enterprises. While Burma still clings to neutrality it is becoming daily more obvious that neutrality can only be maintained so long as Burma's powerful next-door neighbour respects it. At best, this can only mean a very one-sided neutrality, and one in which Burma's independence may in time become merely a nominal one.

PAKISTAN

Separate or Joint Electorates

From Our Karachi Correspondent

On a matter of first importance, the National Assembly of Pakistan, at its recent session at Dacca, has taken a decision which, within the country, has been widely condemned and whose consequences can only be described as unpredictable. In a word, it has decided that in West Pakistan, elections to the Provincial and National Assemblies shall be founded on the principle of separate electorates (that is, election of Muslims by Muslims, Hindus by Hindus and so on, with specified numbers of seats reserved for each community) and that in East Pakistan elections shall be held on the principle of joint electorate, that is, without any distinction as to community whatsoever. This decision is the compromise

apparently made necessary by the threat of deadlock between the two wings, since the West Pakistan Assembly has voted in favour of separate electorates and the East Pakistan Assembly in favour of joint electorates. The significance of these decisions lay in the fact that according to Article 145 of the Constitution, Parliament was required to settle the question of electoral principle after ascertaining the views of the provincial Assemblies and taking them into consideration.

To labour the question of inconsistency is merely wasting time since the decision is clearly one of political expediency, but it is impossible to refrain from comment upon the conduct of the Republican Party. That the leader of the Party, Dr. Khan Sahib, was personally in favour of joint electorates is well known and this was in line with his long record in politics. When the subject was debated in the West Pakistan Assembly, he expressed no view so as to avoid embarrassment to his party which, almost unanimously, voted in favour of the principle of separate electorates—not just separate electorates in West Pakistan. Faced with deadlock, and the threat of a breakdown of the coalition, the Republican Party in the National Assembly voted for the compromise arrangement. Since the Republican Party comes from West Pakistan and is unlikely to establish itself very strongly in East Pakistan, if at all, it will go to its electors, in due course, with the reputation of having brought about the worst possible arrangement—worst, that is, in the view of those who believe in the necessity for separate electorates. The reason for this is that in East Pakistan, with its important non-Muslim communities, the cause has been lost with all consequences whatever they may be, and in West Pakistan, the representation of a very small non-Muslim community (about 2.5 percent of the West Pakistan population) is guaranteed. Moreover, the Republican Party will be accused of having driven a fresh distinction between the two wings whose mutual differences already go deeply enough. The Muslim League can be relied upon to exploit this situation to the fullest extent during the coming months, since the way has been finally cleared for general elections and all political action in Pakistan must now be judged by reference to this prospect.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the conduct of the Republican Party is that it has pursued an uneasy existence from the time it was first created to maintain Dr. Khan Sahib in office, to the moment it was fostered by virtue of the internecine differences within the Muslim League and finally, to becoming the adopted political instrument of the well-to-do landowning classes of West Pakistan. It is, of course, true that had it not been for the unwisdom of the Muslim League in the first place, the Republican Party would not have been called into existence and we are led to conclude that there has been an extraordinary lack of political sagacity which is indeed the case. It seems more than probable that the anxiety of West Pakistan politicians to ensure separate electorates was founded upon a wrong and even malicious desire to promote division among the people of East Pakistan. The charge has been denied, but not so easily disposed of.

As has been pointed out in prominent newspapers, none of this criticism can possibly attach to the Awami League which has consistently advocated the principle of joint electorates throughout the country, and in his speech in the National Assembly, supporting the Bill, Mr. Suhrawardy, now the Prime Minister, did not hesitate to say that this principle should be adopted in both wings and that it was not the fault of his party if it were not. The Awami League is mainly

Pakistan Horizon

Published quarterly by the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi.

Contains papers on international questions, particularly those in which Pakistan is interested.

Annual subscription - - Rs. 8-0-0 (or 20/-)

Single copy - - - - Rs. 2-0-0 (or 5/-)

based in East Pakistan and by the adoption of joint electorates there, Mr. Suhrawardy's position is greatly strengthened. He has made a bold bid for the Hindu vote and he will succeed in getting a large part of it.

The Scheduled Castes are not so happy at the prospect of joint electorates as are the Caste Hindus and in fact it has been argued that the non-Muslims of East Pakistan will not be so well-placed politically under the joint electoral system. Figures produced by Mr. Suhrawardy in the course of his speech in the House did, in fact, lend support to this view although that was not his purpose.

The only commendation that can be given to the decision is that the way is opened to elections which, certainly, is important, but it cannot be concealed that the gulf between East and West Pakistan has been widened. Political foresight indicates that the wisest course now would be for West Pakistan to change its mind and, by following the east wing, bring about uniformity on so fundamental a matter, but whether such wisdom belongs to the political leaders of West Pakistan seems doubtful.

CEYLON

No Barriers

From Our Colombo Correspondent

Ceylon has accepted the challenge of co-existence. The appointment of ambassadors to Russia and People's China has removed the last restriction between Ceylon and the Communist countries. From now on, neither in commercial nor cultural relations, nor even in the acceptance of assistance, will there be any artificial barriers between Ceylon and the rest of the world. Although this latest action of the People's United Front Government will cause no surprise in the West—the exchange of diplomatic representatives between Ceylon and the Communist nations was mentioned in its election manifesto—it might cause some heart burning, because it is a departure from the policy followed by the former United National Party Government.

It has been accepted by most people that the only way to defeat Communism is to give the people something better than what the Communists offered. This is something the UNP under Sir John Kotelawala never grasped. It prevented Ceylonese from visiting the Communist countries, thereby giving the impression that Communism had irresistible virtues. It restricted Ceylon's relations with the Communist

countries to trade only, rejecting all overtures from Russia and China for normal diplomatic relations. It banned the importation of the works of Marx and Lenin, thus making people believe that Communist theory was far too attractive to be tolerated. The result was that Communism (and specially the brand known in the island as Samasamajism) was actually stimulated. Human nature, after all, yearns for forbidden fruit.

The Bandaranaike Government has changed all that. It has also departed from the UNP practice of appointing party stalwarts defeated at the polls as envoys abroad. The importance the Government attaches to the posts of ambassadors in Russia and China is apparent from the calibre of the persons appointed. To Russia goes Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, MA, PhD, DLitt, Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Ceylon. Mr. Wilmot A. Perera, a great educationist and former MP, has been appointed to China.

Dr. Malalasekera is well known for his work in the cause of Buddhism. He is the President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, and has travelled in America, Asia and Europe on lecture tours. He has also represented Ceylon at numerous international conferences. Mr. Wilmot Perera, who is 52, first entered politics in 1947 but did not contest at the recent elections. He is the founder of Sri Palee, an educational and cultural institution on the lines of the famous Shantiniketan in India.

The people have welcomed both the Government's decision to appoint envoys to China and Russia. They firmly believe that closer ties with these countries will result in mutual benefit and reduce Ceylon's dependence on the West.

INDIA

Private Enterprise

From A Correspondent

Although there are a few of India's leading industrialists with the means to put the private sector's case to Cabinet level, it is, by and large, poorly served from the nation-wide angle. Members of Parliament are notoriously in favour of State Socialism, and private enterprise has watched the encroachment by the State into their field with increasing apprehension. The expansion of the Government's State Trading Corporation is seen as a greater threat than ever.

An attempt is now being made to educate the public to the benefits of private enterprise through the medium of the Forum of Free Enterprise, a body formed by leading businessmen in Bombay. Their manifesto has been widely published throughout India and they now propose to try to enlist in their ranks the thousands of small traders and present a united opposition to the threat to their livelihood.

Lack of representation in Parliament is obviously a deterrent to their case. Even the few supporters who sit there are mostly in on a Congress ticket and of necessity follow the party line. Whether the Forum will encourage representatives from its ranks to stand at the next election is not known but undoubtedly a more vociferous representation in the Lok Sabha would go some way towards keeping their claims before the public. The alternative would appear to be an ever-increasing tide of State infiltration which would eventually put the large and small trader and industrialist alike out of business.

AUSTRALIA

Seeking Asian Trade

From Charles Meeking

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

When the influential Institute of Public Affairs in Melbourne set out recently to nominate the "ten most important things happening in Australia" it included in the list "the staggering fundamental economic growth in manufacturing." This growth, intensified since the end of the second world war, and encouraged by tariff protection and to some extent by the "temporary" import restrictions, is regarded by the Menzies Government as offering the best hope of redressing the balance of payments situation through expanded exports, and most local manufacturers, therefore, are targets for an intensive propaganda campaign.

Many have responded already. Australian fountain pens, canned meats and fruits and other products are selling more widely in Britain. West Germans are also buying Australian food. However the real pressure is for increased trade with Asia, and the prospects are encouraging.

Some 25 young and enthusiastic trade commissioners have been appointed, mostly to Asian capitals. They are busily assessing present and potential markets, whipping up orders for Australian firms, dealing with currency and import problems. At the same time, in Australia, the Department of Trade is holding discussions with groups of manufacturing industries, urging them to export in their own interests as well as Australia's, and stressing the advantages of geographical proximity as a factor in competition with European and American exporters. They are also being reminded of the growing industrial strength of India, Japan and China, and of the major competition for trade in Asia which is looming as a result. Australian-made motor cars are now being exported to India and New Zealand, and may soon go to more Asian countries. Flour, canned foods, tractors, Diesel locomotives and many other products of Australian factories are being shipped overseas, and there is good reason to believe that the target of an additional £A20 million worth of exports this year will be reached.

On the other side of the picture, developments in Asia and the Middle East have accelerated the overdue revision of defence policy now promised by the Prime Minister. The Suez crisis and the attitude in Ceylon on bases there have had their effects, and so has the renewed pressure by Indonesia for sovereignty in West Irian. The Australian Government has been somewhat disconcerted by the reports of several Australian journalists who have recently visited western New Guinea. Almost unanimously, they agreed that any military strength which the Dutch might establish there could not be regarded as worthwhile protection for Australia or Australian New Guinea, and that most of the Dutch residents of the territory were reconciled to the prospect of seeing the Indonesians take charge within a decade or less. More importantly, from the Indonesian point of view, it was felt that Holland was doing little or nothing for the welfare of the 750,000 or so natives in the largely unexplored and uncontrolled hinterland, and that most of the £A7 million Dutch expenditure annually was going to provide comfortable homes and settlements for Dutchmen.

POPULATION PROBLEMS IN ASIA

By L. Delgado

IT seems anomalous that while the density of population is greater in Europe (81 per square km.) than in Asia (48 per square km.), it is in the latter area that the population problem exists. This is so because in Asia the rate of increase in numbers at present is greater than that of the means of keeping it alive and well. The annual compound rate of growth in Asia as a whole is slightly under 1 percent per annum, about the same as for world population, but this is an average figure that conceals marked differences from country to country. Even for developed countries a continuous increase of this nature, unaccompanied by adequate increases in production, would bring trouble and, over a long period, would be checked by food shortages. The problem is not one so much of population *per se* as of insufficient resources, and it is with the problem of capital formation and the resulting technological improvements that this book* occupies itself. By "level of consumption" in this work is meant the aggregate of goods and services used up by an individual or groups, including medical attention, schooling, as well as consumption goods. The author prefers this phrase to the more usual "standard of living," which is the plane which an individual or group strives to attain and maintain, but which may not be reached. An interesting point made is that though the increase in *absolute* numbers is located geographically in an area subject to strong political disturbances, this is accidental, for there seems little ground for correlating poverty with revolution. What is significant is that in Asia the growth in numbers hampers improvement among people who are becoming increasingly conscious of poverty and of economic differences. There is a growing awareness of the exploitations made possible by existing social relations and institutional arrangements within each country, and increasing reluctance to submit to them.

Here economic principles impinge upon the realm of ethics and politics. The author makes a particular point of disclaiming his desire to consider the political implications of the situation, but he finds as he goes on that he cannot leave either politics or ethics out of the picture. Technological improvements in the East are not possible without western techniques and western capital (mainly American in both cases). The western nations wish therefore to establish stable democracies capable of guaranteeing the safety of their capital. This is pure politics. There is often great suspicion that the US is interested more in acquiring political and strategic objectives rather than in dispensing disinterested aid. There is no reason to believe this: there is sufficient reason in wishing to maintain a society which believes in private property. It must be remembered that there have been

several cases where very large sums distributed in aid have disappeared into private channels. It is obvious that there must be control not only over the integrity in the disposal of funds but also over its efficiency. The objective of a prosperous world is also sufficient, for the world cannot be rich if any part of it is poor.

Many problems are considered, many of them psychological. (It is a merit of this book that the whole question is studied on human terms.) For instance, account is taken of the effects of assistance to communities still resentful of colonialism. Another factor taken into account is the socio-economic changes that were already developing before the war in many of the countries of the East and now accelerated, perhaps too quickly, by economic development.

But, of course, the theme throughout the book is that of population, and a serious problem is the attitude in underdeveloped countries towards family limitation. The pure Malthusian principle is truer here than anywhere else: economic improvement tends to an increase in births which may prevent any amelioration in levels of consumption, and may even cause regression. This is the crux of the whole problem. Not only are crop yields deplorably low (and agriculture is the mainstay of the population throughout the East, except in Japan), giving rise to deficiency diseases and increased susceptibility to other diseases, but there are also disgraceful conditions of housing and sanitation. The main control of population is thus through mortality. An Indian authority describes the listlessness and fatalistic attitude of poverty-stricken populations, and claims that these factors lead to reproduction becoming a mere animal function. There is, however, also the idea that a large family may be helpful in old age and its labour necessary at times of planting and harvesting.

Another example of the complexity of the problem may be seen from the circumstance that postponing the age of marriage—from 13 or 14 to 20—would not lead to a reduction in the number of births. Those who commence child bearing prematurely end it prematurely. Moreover, the improvement in health resulting from later marriages will exercise a favourable influence on fecundity. Thus health measures, by increasing the population, will retard, if not prevent, improvements in levels of consumption, unless productive capacity in agriculture and industry is correspondingly increased.

A further difficulty exists in that betterment requires sacrifices which people may not be prepared to make. Changes in attitude will be required, not only in respect of family limitation, but in the will to work, consume, save and invest.

The problem will be most urgent in the next 5 or 10

*Population Growth and Levels of Consumption by HORACE BELSHAW (*Allen and Unwin, 25s.*)

FROM ALL QUARTERS

International Buddhist Conference in Nepal

The World Fellowship of Buddhists will hold its fourth conference in Katmandu, capital of Nepal, at the invitation of the King of Nepal. Delegates from about fifty countries are expected to participate in the conference which begins on November 15 and will go on for three days. Special celebrations to mark the occasion will be held in Lumbini (modern Rummindei) on the Nepal Terai, the birthplace of Gautama Buddha.

Overseas Chinese Association

The All-China Returned Overseas Chinese Association was founded in Peking last month. Tan Kah-kee, the returned overseas Chinese leader, was elected President of the association at the final session of the first national conference of returned overseas Chinese. He called on the returned overseas Chinese, their families, as well as Chinese residents abroad to unite around their motherland.

New Training College in Kuala Lumpur

Taman Asohan RIDA, a Women's Training College at Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaya, was opened recently by the Rural Industrial Development Authority. It is the Authority's first large training centre for women, and will provide training for rural people particularly the women of the remote kampongs in the Federation.

The course lasts a month and covers a wide variety of subjects including domestic science, child welfare, simple agriculture and animal husbandry, the economics of kampong life, a general course on Malayan and world affairs, and lectures on various subjects by experts.

Indian Party Merger

The Akali Dal, the militant Sikh organisation, decided last month to merge with the Congress party. The decision was made at an Akali Dal meeting in Amritsar, and follows long negotiations in Delhi between Master Tara Singh the Sikh leader and Mr. Nehru. The Akali leaders demanded from Congress representation in the Congress election committee and a guarantee of adequate representation for Akali Sikhs in the states at the next general election. They also included in their demands the right to agitate at any time if they considered that their interests were being adversely affected.

Strikes in Japan

Strikes in the iron and steel industry and in the leading Japanese shipyards last month are the forerunners of a wage offensive which will be launched in November by Sohyo (the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions). The shipyard workers demanded wage increases from 1800 yen (£1.15) to 2,000 (£1.19) per month but the managements have offered increases of only 400 to 700 yen.

The steelworkers are asking for similar increases, and it is admitted by the mill owners that these increases could be borne by the industry, but pressure is being exerted by other

industrial concerns who fear that any wage increases will be passed on to the consumer. Steel prices in Japan have risen steadily during the last few months.

Opposition to the Government's productivity movement was one of the main policy decisions taken at the 7th convention of Sohyo last August. This labour organisation is Japan's largest, with a membership of three million. Frequent clashes have taken place on policy matters between the main-stream faction led by the Secretary-General Akira Iwai and the Vice-Chairman Kaoru Ota and the opposition group headed by the ex-secretary General Minoru Takano, whose proposal at the last convention that in order to strengthen political activities, in addition to the Socialist and Labour-Farmer parties the Communist Party should be added to Sohyo's list of supporters was rejected.

Kalinga Prize Winner

Professor George Gamow, of the University of Colorado, has been awarded the £1,000 Kalinga Prize for his work in popularising science.

This prize is offered annually by Unesco on the basis of a grant made by Mr. B. Patnaik, a member of the Legislative Assembly of the Indian State of Orissa, who established it to encourage the interpretation of science to the general public and to strengthen links between India and scientists of all nations. Kalinga was the Indian empire conquered more than 2,000 years ago by Asoka at such a cost that he swore never again to wage war.

Nizam of Hyderabad Retires

The Nizam of Hyderabad has renounced his token post as Hyderabad's head of state shortly before the new Indian law ends the existence of Hyderabad state on November 1. The territory, will be divided among the new states which will be brought into being by the reorganisation.

The Nizam who is 75, receives a substantial pension from the Indian government and his retirement marks the end of two centuries of rule by his Moslem family. From 1911 until his surrender to Indian forces after independence in 1947, the Nizam was an absolute ruler of some 20 million subjects, later becoming Raj pramukh, or constitutional head. As Raj pramukh one of his privileges was immunity from prosecution. The Nizam said that he had been assured by Mr. Nehru that no change had been proposed in his existing status, rights and privileges.

Formosan Bonus

The Formosan government is to give every member of the Nationalist armed forces a certificate entitling the holder to a plot of land in China when the mainland is reconquered. The plot will be large enough to yield 2,000 catties of rice a year, roughly an acre and a half. President Chiang Kai-shek, describing the bonus plan, called on the armed forces to "assume the responsibility of hastening the downfall of the Peking puppet regime."

LONDON NOTEBOOK

Diplomatic Changes in London

The new Indonesian Ambassador arrived in London last month. He is Dr. R. Sunarjo and he replaces Prof. Dr. R. Supomo who has had over two years' service in this country and who is now joining the Foreign Ministry in Jakarta.

Dr. Sunarjo was Foreign Minister in the first Ali Sastroamidjojo cabinet (1953-



The new Burmese Ambassador is seen with his wife and his sons on arrival at Tilbury

1955) and subsequently represented the PNI in Parliament until his present appointment. He was also lecturer in law at the Gadjah Mada University and at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. He first paid a visit to Britain in 1951 when he led an Indonesian Parliamentary mission.

The new Burmese Ambassador Sithu U

Aung Soe also arrived in London last month. Sithu Aung Soe has held high ranking posts in the administrative and international sphere. After a long period in the Indian Civil Service in Burma he was appointed Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests, and later became Financial Commissioner. In 1951, he led the Burmese delegation to the FAO Conference in Washington and represented Burma at the GATT Conference in Geneva. He was from July, 1955, to August this year Burmese Ambassador to India.

New Chairman of GATT

Sir Claude Corea, High Commissioner for Ceylon in the United Kingdom, has unanimously been elected Chairman of GATT.

The Chinese in South-East Asia

The vast numbers of overseas Chinese living in South-East Asia do not constitute any threat to the stability of that area, said Dr. Victor Purcell at a meeting

of the China Society in London. Dr. Purcell, the well-known authority on overseas Chinese affairs, has recently returned from a visit to China and several countries of South-East Asia where he was able to renew his contacts with the various Chinese communities, and to get personal impressions of the way in which new nationality and property laws are affecting Chinese interests. The two countries where life is made most harassing for the Chinese minority are Viet Nam and the Philippines, but even so, the Chinese with their customary resourcefulness and adaptability are still maintaining themselves. As far as pressure from the Chinese mainland on the overseas Chinese is concerned, Dr. Purcell thought that the political tenets of the new regime were fundamentally opposed to the growth of nationalistic feelings, and, moreover, in the practical sphere the remittances sent by Chinese to their families in China was an important source of income.

The first Hindu marriage to be performed at India House, London, took place last month when His Highness Raja Surendra Singh of Alirajpur was married to Miss Meenakshi Kumari Ahuja. The bridegroom is principal private secretary to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner in London. Picture shows: the bride and bridegroom during the wedding ceremony



Letter to the Editor

ASIA ON THE SCREEN

Sir.—I read with interest and appreciation Mr. Alexander's excellent article on "Asia on the Screen," in your October issue, and I hope I shall not seem churlish if I take up two points arising from it.

The Purple Plain. Mr. Alexander is perhaps not aware that both the film and the novel from which it was made gave great offence in Burma. A number of Burmese spoke to me very angrily about the book, and when the film was released there was a great deal of anger expressed in the daily papers and a move to boycott it. A prime cause of offence was that people were shown wearing footwear in the vicinity of the pagoda, and

there were other falsities which annoyed the Burmese because they misrepresented Burmese life and customs.

Love is a Many-Splendored Thing. It has nothing to do either with East-West relations nor with my great admiration for Han Suyin's writing and her courageous personality, but I think it should be known—that it cannot, indeed, be too often pointed out—that the title Han Suyin gave to the book from which the film was made, *The Many Splendored Thing*, was nothing less than a literary outrage, which is made worse by the film's vulgarization of Francis Thompson's beautiful words. The "many splendored thing" of which Francis Thompson, a devout Catholic, wrote in his famous poem, "The Kingdom of God," referred to an awareness of the kingdom of God—nothing whatever to do with the human love, romantic and sexual, of Han Suyin's

book and the film:—

"The angels keep their ancient places—
Turn but a stone, and start a wing!
'Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces,
That miss the many-splendored thing."

I do not make this protest as a Christian, for I do not consider myself a Christian, but purely on literary grounds—the deep aversion to taking words (particularly beautiful words) out of their context. The sexy vulgarity and sensationalism of the posters announcing the film, at the same time adding misquotation to the taking-out-of-context, further aggravated the outrage. It may have been a good film—I am told it was—but I was one of a number of people too outraged by the misuse of poor Francis Thompson's deeply religious poem to go and see it.

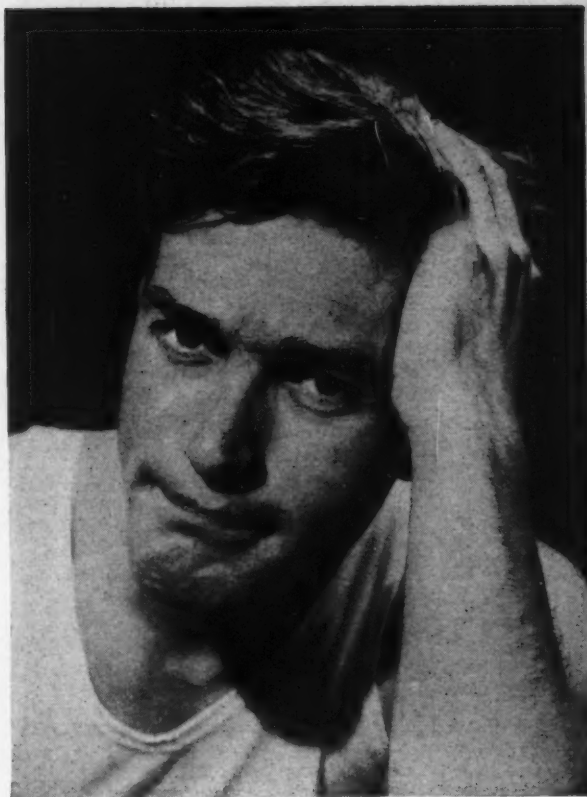
Yours, etc.,

ETHEL MANNIN.

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BOOKS on the

What I Think by ADLAI STEVENSON (*Rupert Hart-Davis, 18s. net*)

In this collection of speeches, covering mainly the past two years, but also including one or two from 1952-3, the now American Democratic Presidential candidate fully justifies his reputation as a man of keen and lively intellect, with a wide sweep of interests and an outlook in line with the great Roosevelt tradition.

The speeches, which cover a variety of subjects, were given at Party functions, to a number of universities, to women's clubs and to public meetings. Non-American readers will be most interested in Mr. Stevenson's exposition of American policies, both foreign and domestic. As early as 1954, when it still required considerable courage, he was opposed to the policy of brandishing nuclear and atomic weapons. This year he has made the banning of H-bomb Tests a cornerstone of his election campaign. Likewise on the question of Formosa, he was early in the field in advocating a peaceful, negotiated solution, and rebuking the Government for its blustering, unrealistic, "go-it-alone" policies, the inevitable failure of which he foresaw.

In the early spring of 1954, he had the courage when McCarthyism was still at its crest to round on it, sometimes in passages of a rolling, almost Churchillian thunder. "It is wicked and it is subversive," he declaimed, "for public officials to try deliberately to replace reason with passion; to substitute hatred for honest difference; to fulfil campaign promises by practising deception; and to hide discord among Republicans by sowing the dragon's teeth of dissension among Americans."

Though in this volume there is little evidence of the famous wit, there are many felicitous turns of expression, as for example when he speaks of the "atom split in anger." He is not quite free from the characteristic American unctuousness and repetitiveness — the repetitiveness of a people never subjected to the discipline of a paper shortage. But in its essentials, what he has to say is close to the best in European liberalism. If Mr. Stevenson becomes the next President of the United States, then the coming four years should yield opportunities for greatly improved relations between that country and the rest of the world, not least with the nations of Asia.

PAULA WIKING

Three Geishas by KIKOU YAMATA (*Cassell, 16s.*)

The geishas whose stories are recounted here belong to a vanishing world, and indeed after learning from Miss Yamata about the organisation and what was expected of these women, one is inclined to feel that it is just as well. At first glance, the life of a geisha seems little else than gilded slavery. Mostly recruited from poor families, who receive a sum of money in exchange for their daughters, the girls are handed over to the proprietor of a geisha house at the age of five, to become apprentices in the art of entertainment, graduating from child entertainers to fully fledged geishas of various grades. The whole geisha system is organised on a methodical financial basis, although a high class geisha never mentions money, all financial transactions being settled by an astute

FAR EAST

manageress. Today however, says Miss Yamata, there is nothing to distinguish these girls from the "debutantes and coquettish" young women of an increasingly uninhibited society—they have adopted western dress and make up, outside their professional appearances, although in spite of these social changes the daily life of a geisha is still very much the same, dancing lessons, music lessons, lessons in the art of arranging flowers and serving tea. In the afternoon she makes her elaborate toilette and waits for patrons. The author says with unconscious irony "What a wealth of sophisticated charm and grace is now available to the fortunate Japanese male! Two worlds flourish around him and for his benefit. He can choose between two classes of beauties, two kinds of pleasures—licit and illicit. . . . Japanese men have to evolve rapidly in order to keep pace with the evolution of their women and of their civilisation."

The *raison d'être* of a geisha's profession was simply the art of pleasing men, by her carefully chosen clothes, her skill as a musician, her graceful manners, her witty and engaging conversation. Sometimes geishas of outstanding abilities became the confidantes of influential politicians, which gave them at least a temporary status. But the geisha's life demands, with all its attributes of self-effacement and eagerness to please, complete abnegation to the wishes of the customer. As these three stories show, the life of a geisha had its share of misfortune, unhappiness and cruelty. The most moving story is that of Tsumakichi, the "armless beauty." A brilliant dancer, she was employed in a tea house as a fourteen year old *Maikko*, when the owner of the tea house ran amok, killing all the occupants and cutting off the arms of the young girl. She could not dance again but became a ballad singer in music halls and then learned to paint by holding a brush in her mouth. Her paintings of birds and flowers on silk are well known. She is still alive today and lives in a Buddhist temple near Kyoto.

Today, with the rapid intake of western ideas, Japanese women have some opportunity to earn their living and assert themselves more in society. The world of the geishas is gradually shrinking, and with it much of the old lordly subjugation of women. But the arts of the geisha, her traditional skills in which she was so adept, are still being maintained.

T. R. I. SHAW

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THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST

NIHONBASHI, TOKYO, JAPAN

Train to Pakistan by KHUSHWANT SINGH (*Chatto & Windus, 12s. 6d.*)

The sort of novel to be designated "important," with "far reaching implications" "exciting both intellectually and emotionally" etc., to quote from the wrapper. A pity, because the reader expects too much. As it stands it is a competent story, adequately told, interspersed with authentic character studies and plenty of local colour. The background events, the bloody riots which broke out between Sikhs and Muslims following Partition in 1947, are dramatic enough, but the realistic treatment of the story spares the reader none of the details of seduction, arson, massacres and violence. To underline his complete absence of sentimentality, Mr. Singh falls into the trap of specious generalisations — for instance, "Hinduism is caste and cow-protection; for the Muslim, religion is circumcision and Kosher meat; for the Sikh, long hair and hatred of the Muslim. For the Christian, Hinduism with a sola topee. . . ." An amusing simplification, with endless variations—"Catholicism is penance and popery. . ." at a cocktail party, but hardly worth including as a sophistry. K.N.

Visa for Peking by A. DE SEGONZAC (*Heinemann, 21s.*)

The most striking characteristic of this account of a two months' stay in China is its objectivity. We are accustomed by now to various interpretations of conditions in Communist China, inspired by the political beliefs or background knowledge of their authors. But Mr. de Segonzac had no preconceived ideas, or regrets for the "old" China since he went to the country without any previous knowledge of it, or of the language. But this, as it turns out, was no handicap, for he has shown himself to be an admirable reporter, putting pertinent questions and sometimes getting surprising answers. He is careful to denote the line between his own observation and the somewhat too glib and well drilled information passed on to him by interpreters, but as he says, he draws no conclusions but rather presents his personal impressions. But one thing stands out clearly, and that is that the peasants of China are infinitely better off than ever before. If such a drastic change in manners and customs can be achieved in such a short time, and not apparently by active coercion but rather by educational methods, then it is not surprising that China's potentialities, both material and political, are the subject of world wide speculation and suspicion. An interesting sidelight on present day China, particularly for those who were familiar with the country in the "old" days is the new puritanism, which has been taken with such seriousness, that along with "squeeze," tipping and bribery, the old comfortable vices have been pounced on and eliminated like the flies in Peking. Whether this is just another example of Chinese adaptability, or whether it is a hangover of revolutionary austerity, remains to be seen. But at the moment night life in Peking is confined to the cry of the itinerant noodle seller and the shouts of the pedicab drivers!

The book is nicely illustrated.

S.N.R.

Theatre in the East by FAUBION BOWERS (*Nelson, 42s.*)

This is a praiseworthy attempt to encompass the whole of Asian dance and drama in one medium sized volume, and as with similar encyclopaedic works, one is immediately more aware of omissions than of inclusions. Mr. Bowers knows a great deal about his subject (dance and drama are so closely

identified in the East that the division between them is often only arbitrary) but those countries whose dramatic art he has studied more closely or can draw on his personal experience and observation are described with fuller detail, while for those with whom he has obviously had little more than nodding acquaintance, the treatment is less satisfactory. For instance, the section on Indonesia is quite comprehensive, including folk dancing, wayang, classical dance and modern theatre—but to take two examples, the description of the theatre and dance in Japan takes no account of the numerous folk dances to be seen today all over Japan, varying according to the district or the festival. He omits any reference, when discussing Ceylon's dramatic traditions, to the puppet play, which is almost entirely a folk art and an extremely popular one—capable of interesting developments. Korea is omitted entirely—a pity, because the *kisaeng* dances, which in their most complex form approached allegorical or semi-religious plays, are to be found today even in the smallest towns. The *kisaeng* themselves were a professional group, probably originating with the girl dancers of ancient China, and flourished among the Koreans. It is certain that this form of entertainment was taken over by the Japanese and the *kisaeng* were the forerunners of the geisha.

However, Mr. Bower's enthusiasm for his subject is infectious, and his detailed descriptions of performances which he has seen during his study tour of the area make this a pleasant if rather personal introduction to the subject. The book is illustrated by many good photographs but the bibliography is scanty and hardly representative.

S.N.R.

Red Shadow Over Malaya by BRIGADIER M. C. A. HENNIKER. (Blackwood 18s.)

This is a soldier's story of the military operations against the terrorists in the Malayan jungles. As a record of how an army tackles a job and what behaviour is of certain people under trying conditions it is very good. But the book does nothing to help us understand the Malayan terrorist problem, and the author is generous enough to admit that the solution is a political one, about which he knows little.

J.W.T.C.

Books and Publications Received

Indian Foreign Policy by KARUNAKAR GUPTA (Calcutta: World Press, 16s. 6d.)

Return to the Sea by A. H. RASMUSSEN (Constable, 18s.)

Ambassador in Chains by RAYMOND A. LANE (Peter Davies, 15s.)

Race Relations in World Perspective edited by ANDREW W. LIND (University of Hawaii Press)

The Viet-Minh Regime by BERNARD B. FALL (Institute of Pacific Relations, \$2.50)

A Letter from Li Po and Other Poems by CONRAD AIKEN (New York: Oxford University Press, \$3.50)

Himalayn Circuit by G. D. KHOSLA (Macmillan, 18s.)

Angkor Empire by GEORGE B. WALKER (Calcutta: Signet Press)

Famous Waterways of the World by KEITH BEAN (Muller, 8s. 6d.)

China: New Age and New Outlook by PING-CHIA KUO (Gollancz, 16s.)

Coote Bahadur by E. W. SHEPPARD (Werner Laurie, 25s.)

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS

THE four-day rebellion of part of the Japanese Army which took place in February 1936 has never been fully explained either by historians or by the publication of memoirs of those who were concerned in the struggle. In his account of this remarkable outbreak, Richard Storry writing in *History Today* (London, November) points out that the underlying cause was the rivalry that had developed during the previous four years between two politically active factions in the Army—the *Kodo-ha* and *Tosei-ha*. Broadly speaking, the *Kodo-ha* believed that the Emperor should have absolute power, both political and economic, a concept which blended mysticism with a strong element of national socialism. The *Tosei-ha* who were equally determined to secure military control of national policy contained many supporters who were prepared to cooperate with the great business houses and their affiliated political parties in the Diet. One of the issues which divided the two factions was the direction of Japanese armed expansion abroad—the *Tosei-ha* favoured an advance south from Manchuria into China while the *Kodo-ha* openly advocated an advance to the other direction from Manchuria into Siberia. The rebellion was the climax of revolutionary nationalism in modern Japan. The *Tosei-ha* was then firmly in the saddle and this meant that the next move on the continent would be against China rather than Russia. This led to a further advance to the south and ultimately to Pearl Harbour.

The highly individual aspects of the Burmese political

scene, where it can be said with some truth that all those who are active in Burma's political life are all Marxists of varying degrees of orthodoxy, is the subject of an article by Geoffrey Fairburn in *Pacific Affairs* (New York, September). He points out that in some ways it is an unusual kind of Marxism—it is a viable economic technique rather than a social dogma. The leading party, the AFPFL (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League), itself presents some peculiarities—often it appears to be the smoke-screen for the policy making of a hard-headed central group of Socialists, while sometimes there seems to be less unity of action than this view would imply. "... at times the AFPFL gives the impression of a quasi-military organisation neatly carrying out the directives laid down by its Rangoon headquarters; at others it looks like a slowly disintegrating mass of quasi-official 'local bosses' with party dues in arrears and looking upon the AFPFL more as a kind of (not very modern) governing class rather than the party at present in power."

The Unesco magazine *Courier* (Paris, October) describes a unique form of cooperation between artists of the East and craftsmen of the West, which has produced a remarkable collection of engraved crystal. The drawings were prepared by Asian artists, American glass designers reproduced the moods of the drawings in the crystal forms and craftsmen engraved the drawings on the crystal. The results have been exhibited as a collection in two American Museums, and judging by the reproductions the collaboration has been highly successful—whether the original drawings were as individual as those of Jamini Roy, or as classical and austere as a Chinese rendering of a spray of bamboo.

FRENCH MERCHANT VENTURER

Among the enterprising 15th Century merchants who tried to revive the trade relations between Western Europe and Asia, which had been broken off since the time of the Crusades, Jacques Coeur, was outstanding. No one made a greater contribution to the 15th Century revival of Mediterranean and Asian trade than this bold merchant adventurer, who died just 500 years ago, on November 25, 1456.

Coeur was a little over thirty years of age when he set off on his first voyage to the countries of the Levant. Not very wealthy, but full of daring and unburdened by scruples, he hoped to find in the East a field of action worthy of his ambitions. At first he came up against many difficulties, but when King Charles VII of France took him under his protection, Jacques Coeur managed to create one of the biggest trading enterprises of his time. Seven large galleys scoured the Mediterranean in his service.

Coeur's larger vessels made regular calls at the trading ports of the eastern Mediterranean. These visits were especially profitable as the warehouses of Alexandria, Beirut and Famagusta were packed with the richest and rarest products of the Orient. Because these exotic goods were greatly in demand throughout the West and thanks to the favours accorded him by Charles VII, who granted him the monopoly for the sale of certain products, Jacques Coeur was able to conclude some highly profitable business deals. In 1448 he was made a member of the Great Council of the Realm.

But his achievements could not mask his personal shortcomings. In the East he exported unstamped silver, took part in the slave trade and sold arms to the enemies of Christendom. These extortions, frauds and abuses made him many enemies, and the fabulous riches he had amassed, and his unbelievably

luxurious way of life created much jealousy.

Finally the King lost confidence in him and in 1453 he was sent to prison, all his possessions were confiscated. He escaped, however, and obtained refuge and protection from the Pope. Three years later, when he was on the point of leading a crusade against the Turks, he died on the island of Chios, on November 25, 1456.



A CHAMPION OF HINDI

By L. F. Rushbrook Williams

ON October 14 many cities in northern and central India witnessed celebrations in honour of the sixtieth birthday of Seth Govind Das. The Seth is a veteran Congressman; a man of great wealth and public spirit, always ready to throw his considerable influence in support of any worthy cause. But it is not these qualities alone which led, some time ago, to the formation of a committee of his colleagues in Parliament, supported by some eminent men of letters, whose task it was to see that his "Diamond Jubilee" was nationally celebrated. His political services have been of a kind to ensure him a place in the respect of an India which continues to recall with pride the long years of the struggle for "National Liberation"; but it is on his achievements as a man of letters that his reputation in his own country is most securely founded. As playwright, novelist and essayist he has made unique contributions to the literature of what is now India's national language: while he, more perhaps than any other one man, has been the creator of the public opinion which successfully insisted that this national language should be Hindi.

It is not always realised, especially by those who champion the claims of Hindi to displace other tongues as the *lingua franca* of India's many cultures, that Hindi as a literary medium is in reality the creation of the last century and a half. As a spoken language, the natural speech of people round Delhi, it is of immemorial antiquity, stemming, like other popular Prakrits, from Sanskrit origins. But efforts to evolve from it a literary language were for long handicapped by the strong competition of Urdu; and it was not until the nineteenth century brought the Hindu national revival to the assistance of these efforts that an effective demand grew up for a literary medium which should be free from the "imported" Persian and Arabic elements in which Urdu is so prolific. In the middle of the century, valuable pioneering work in Hindi prose and drama was accomplished by Bharatendu Harischandra, who has been called the father of modern Hindi literature; but the circle to which he appealed was small; and popularisation proved a slow affair. It was only by degrees that journals like *Saraswati* under the editorship of Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi began to attract the energies of young writers. After the first two decades of the present century, advance was rapid. The decision of Prem Chand, the greatest Indian novelist of his day, to write in Hindi after using Urdu for fifteen successful years, was a portent. Then came Jaishankar Prasad, whose dramas were read for their patriotic message, but whose language was over-stylised for popular audiences.

The work of Seth Govind Das has bridged the gulf which formerly existed between the language of the people and its literary form as developed by men of letters. From his early years an enthusiast for Hindi, he used his wealth to found Sharda Bhawan, a literary institution which later developed into Rashtriya Hindi Mandir, with the avowed purpose of creating a public for original work in Hindi. A Hindi monthly, a long series of Hindi books, and two Hindi daily papers resulted from the money and effort which he lavished unsparingly in the intervals of a busy political career. He campaigned tirelessly to identify Hindi with the nationalist movement, of which it became perhaps the most important organ because of its wide currency among the masses; and his triumph was complete when, as President of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, he had the satisfaction of acclaiming the adoption of Hindi—largely as the result of his efforts—by the Constituent Assembly as the State language of India.

His carefully-fostered link between the Hindi language and Indian nationalist aspirations has proved a brilliant success; but the alliance might have taken longer to bear fruit had his own work not proved the capacity of Hindi to express and to enrich every aspect of the Indian intellectual and emotional heritage. Perhaps his greatest achievement in this direction has been to use the art of the drama to lay the foundations of a living Hindi theatre. He has written more than one hundred plays, which together form a landmark in the development of Hindi literature because they treat of topics, and employ a language, which the ordinary people can understand. This achievement is all the more remarkable because he has been obliged to create the machinery upon which his chosen art-form must rely: to provide the plays, not for an already-existing living theatre, but for one which has still to emerge. That his faith has been justified; that dramatic societies pledged to promote Hindi drama are now springing up in many parts of the country; that every new play which he writes excites the keenest interest, particularly among the rising generation—all this provides the best testimony to the liveliness of his dramatic conception and to the intimacy of his perception of the problems which engross the attention of the people.

His mythological and historical plays, which form a substantial proportion of his work to date, are of particular interest because they use heroic figures in their traditional settings to show the continuity of India's heritage by demonstrating how identical problems of conduct have found identical solutions from age to age. Throughout them all, as throughout the modern "problem" plays which depict contemporary life and manners with a sure touch, there runs a definite philosophy of duty, of fearlessness, of the open mind. Seth Govind Das has a hatred of cruelty and intolerance, a contempt for formalism and for vested interests; and a passionate conviction of the worth and dignity of the individual soul, which infuse everything that he writes and

After spending many years in the old "undivided" India, Professor Rushbrook Williams worked for 11 years on the editorial staff of "The Times" (London). The author of a number of books on Indian history and Indian politics, his principal occupation is now to study all that happens in India and Pakistan with the object of promoting a good understanding between them and of explaining their point of view to western readers.

serve to explain his knack of appealing to the younger people who are just finding their bearings as citizens of a free India. His dialogue is always lively and racy with contemporary idioms. This is perhaps his strongest point; when it is combined with his colourful sequences, it disarms the criticism sometimes made by professional critics of the drama that his plays are too "literary" and too loosely constructed. The solid fact is that almost everything which he has written can be acted successfully; and much of it shows very fine stagecraft indeed.

Although the drama is Seth Govind Das's favourite medium, the individual literary achievement which has brought him most fame is his long novel *Indumati*, the story of a girl whose struggle for self-expression mirrors in miniature her country's efforts to attain political freedom. The story is almost an encyclopaedia of social and political conceptions which were current in the days of the "national struggle"; but the sympathetic figure of the heroine lends unity and sustains interest throughout a narrative of quite exceptional length. Like so much of Seth Govind Das's work, *Indumati* can be read only in Hindi—in which language it has been a "best seller." It is to be hoped that this novel, and at least a representative selection of Seth Govind Das's dramas, can be made available to English readers before very long, if only because, apart altogether from their literary merit, they throw a flood of light upon the ethical, social, economic, and political issues with which India is grappling today.

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a part of his priceless collection of Hindu, Chinese and Japanese exhibits to Monte Verita, while many other objects can be seen in the Rietberg Museum in Zurich (see December 1955 issue of EASTERN WORLD).

Pictures show some of Baron von der Heydt's collection. Top: Sitting Jain, in white marble, India, 15th-16th Century. Bottom left: Tiger, ink drawing on yellow paper, Japan, 18th Century. Centre: Head of Buddha in grey sandstone, Khmer, 10th-13th Century. Bottom right: Two Geese, ink drawing, Japan, 17th-18th Century.



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ECONOMIC SECTION

BLACK LETTER TO INDIA

By J. W. T. Cooper

THE letter that Mr. Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, sent to the Indian Government expressing the Bank's and Mr. Black's views on the financing of the Indian Second Five-Year Plan has created something of a furore in financial circles. Judging from the reply to it sent by Mr. Krishnamachari, the Indian Finance Minister, it has caused less concern in India than was to be expected. The primary task in India at the moment is to push ahead with the second plan, and this it seems is of greater importance than to enter into any great debate at this time on the fundamental principle raised by Mr. Black's letter. It is true that nothing explicit was said in the Bank's communication to indicate that loans would not be forthcoming from the World Bank to India, but it is possible to read into Mr. Black's letter a note of warning that the Bank's decision on the extent of loans would be influenced by the amount of scope given by the Indian Government to private enterprise.

Mr. Black's criticism is that the Indian planners have

wrongly evaluated the relative parts public and private enterprise can play in India's future economic and social development. But who is to say that Mr. Black is right? It is surely up to India herself to choose her own path, and Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, has repeatedly emphasised that India's way is neither capitalist nor Communist. The reason why India has not so far been willing to enter into an argument on principles is that, come what may, the Government in Delhi is determined to carry through the programme they have chosen in the way they have chosen, and it is as well for the World Bank to bear in mind the consequences that would result from any action it may take in curtailing loans to India. Underdeveloped countries throughout the world, and particularly those in Asia that are ready to embark on phased programmes of economic development, are carefully equating the systems of India and China to see which brings the soundest results, all things considered. India's way could be the shining example of development on democratic lines.

Further, it would seem that Mr. Black's evaluation of the potential of existing Indian industrialists in any plan for India's future is based upon the knowledge he has acquired from experience in his own country—America. In India there are very few industrialists who are able to participate in large scale industrialisation. Most Indian businessmen, in part due to the historical development of the country, are of the merchant and entrepreneur class who are generally interested in a relatively quick turnover of their investment. It is therefore in the interest of India that the State should develop various industries through the public sector, particularly those in which private capital is not prepared to invest. It is a special feature of India's mixed economy that private and public enterprises can co-exist in the same industry.

The Indian Government is anxious to achieve its aims in a limited period of time. What the private sector can achieve in this period has been decided in consultation between the Government and the industrialists. If the private sector could do more the Indian Government would welcome it, but in the framework of the accelerated pace of India's economic development, the private sector, by its very nature, can play only a limited part. The record of India's financial policy, in face of the country's preoccupation with a staggering economic development programme, together with the political stability of the country, ought to inspire confidence for further foreign capital investment.

It is, however, the political implications contained in Mr. Black's letter that are important. The question is raised,

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openly for the first time, of how far foreign private enterprise is willing to go in trying to influence the political course of the newly independent and rapidly developing nations of the world. The widespread schemes of industrial development on which underdeveloped countries are embarking, present glorious opportunities for private enterprise, but it must be recognised that the course of Asian nationalism over the past few years has shown that the tendency is towards a socialist form of economic structure. It largely depends on the amount of help western enterprise is willing and happy to give that will decide whether that socialist pattern will be democratic or totalitarian. If western business sees a danger in the long term to its own continued existence by the increasing number of societies embracing the socialist pattern, it must seriously ask itself whether that situation will be accelerated or retarded by coming into head on collision with the forces of Afro-Asian nationalism.

By some ardent nationalistically minded Asians Mr. Black's criticism of India's political choice was offensively didactic and patronising. The letter in effect said that those in India who formulated India's Second Five-Year Plan were either purposely ideologically biased against private enterprise (the implication is that the motive is always sinister), or had insufficient knowledge of the science of economics to see the advantage of private over public ownership. These premises are entirely rejected by those who believe that the planners in Asian countries are quite capable of understanding the requirements of their own peoples. And they are even more virulently rejected on the ground that such criticism sounds uncommonly like western business trying desperately to find some economic advantage for itself out of the development of underprivileged masses.

One thing is certain. Underdeveloped countries will progress along the lines they themselves choose, as long as they are independent. Their deep-seated nationalism and inherent pride will ensure it. No amount of pressure from the West will influence the course they take. The role of foreign enterprise should be to help these countries to develop along democratic lines, to offer positive cooperation and friendship. Looked at in the long term, this is the only way for western business to safeguard its own interests. To try to set up the fabric of free enterprise in the face of the Asian revolution is to lay down a challenge which will needlessly widen the gulf between East and West.

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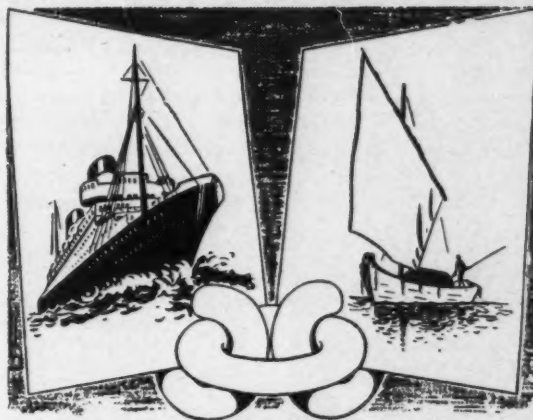
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BRITISH STEEL GOES EAST

By Sir Ernest Lever (President of the British Iron and Steel Federation)

LAST year more than a third of Britain's exports of iron and steel products went to countries in eastern Asia and Australasia, the bulk, incidentally, passing through the Suez Canal.

Australia and New Zealand are the leading markets for British steel in the area, but India, Pakistan, Malaya and Hong Kong are important and growing customers, and Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand also take significant quantities of British steel products. Even if there were no other factors, therefore, the trade in direct steel exports alone would suffice to make this area and its prospects of continuing importance to British steel-makers.

U.K. Steel Exports to Eastern Asia and Australasia, 1955

	Tons (finished steel)
Australia	383,600
New Zealand	258,200
India	166,200
Malaya	63,700
Hong Kong	44,600
Pakistan	40,800
Burma	10,200
Philippines	8,500
Indonesia	5,300
Thailand	5,000
Japan	400
Total: Far East	986,500
(Ingot Equivalent)	(1,350,000)
Total: World	2,812,200
(Ingot Equivalent)	(3,360,000)
Far East as percent World	35.1

The volume of direct steel exports—that is, of plates, rails, sheets and so on—is, however, only one part of the picture. Equally important are the markets which the area offers for Britain's "indirect" steel exports, that is, for steel processed into a wide variety of manufactured goods, such as machinery, bridges, railway engines and motor cars. Such exports of goods containing steel play a central role in Britain's export effort: last year they accounted for some 44 percent of total export earnings. Even for the steel industry, they are of paramount concern: in 1955, such indirect steel exports, at 4.15 million ingot tons, were greater than direct steel exports, at 3.36 million ingot tons.

No estimate of the amount of steel contained in the metal goods exported to eastern Asia and Australasia is available; but it is known that the area took over one-quarter of Britain's total exports last year, so it is possible that it took about one million ingot tons of British steel in this indirect form, in addition to the 986,500 tons of steel products (equivalent to 1.35 million ingot tons) it imported directly. In all, therefore, about one-eighth of Britain's steel production may be going to the Far East. In return the British steel industry imports some part of its raw material requirements from the East. By far the most important import of this sort is the inflow of manganese ore from India. In 1955 Britain imported 407,200 tons of manganese ore, of which 125,000 tons came from India. In other sectors the long haul limits trade in iron- and steel-making raw materials, which have a

high weight-for-value ratio. Any arisings of steel scrap in the Far East and any expansion of iron ore exports from India and Malaya will help Britain's raw materials position indirectly, however, by satisfying neighbouring steel-making countries who would otherwise have competed with Britain for supplies available nearer home.

Future Prospects

So much for present trading links. What of the future? One general point must be made clear. There are two views that can be taken by established manufacturing countries covering industrial growth in the hitherto-underdeveloped nations: they may see such growth as a threat to their traditional exports; or they may see it as offering the promise of new and wider markets. The British steel industry, and indeed British industry as a whole, takes the latter view. As industrialisation proceeds, the countries of east Asia may, it is true, come to meet many of their requirements out of local production and some present British markets may be lost. But all past experience shows that such industrialisation generates more new import demands than it extinguishes.

The British steel industry is engaged in a vigorous ex-

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pansion of capacity in order to meet such demands. It is expected that by 1958 crude steel production in Britain will reach 23.5 million tons, or nearly double the 1945 output, and plans are already being laid for further expansion in the early 'sixties. This growth of production should be sufficient both to meet Britain's own needs and to allow of a substantial increase in the supply of steel to overseas customers.

The export of steel products to the Far East should increase appreciably under the dual stimuli of easier supply conditions in Britain and greater demand from expanding economies in Asia and Australasia. There is no reason to expect that planned increases in local steel production in this area will check this increased flow of trade. For example, although the Indian Second Five-Year Plan envisages an increase in steel production from 1.3 million tons to 7 million tons by 1960-61, this development will be taking place within a fast-expanding economy which will be requiring ever-growing amounts of steel.

An example from a developing region in another part of the world may illustrate the point. Latin American steel production rose from an average of 180,000 tons a year in 1935-39 to an average of 1,650,000 tons a year in 1950-54; but such was the parallel growth of the steel-using industries that imports rose from 1,920,000 tons to 2,860,000 tons over the same period. In the long run the pattern of British sales to the Far East will probably alter, with a shift towards more highly-processed steel products; but the trend of steel trade

should be upwards.

The British steel industry is proving its confidence in this belief by contributing largely to the building-up of local steel industries in the area. As part of the Technical Co-operation Scheme under the Colombo Plan, the steel industry has trained technicians from a number of Asian countries, and its representatives have played an active part in meetings of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).

There has, also, been more direct participation in Asian steel development plans, and here India provides a topical example. A consortium of thirteen British firms has undertaken the building of one of India's three new nationally-owned steelworks—a one million ton, £80 million plant at Durgapur in West Bengal—and other British companies will be participating in the expansion of the private sector of the Indian steel industry. As well as increased direct exports of steel products, economic expansion in Asia and Australasia can be expected to promote a bigger flow of indirect steel exports from Britain. Industrial expansion will require greater imports of capital goods, and the income-expansion to which it will give rise will require greater imports of steel-based consumer goods. The British metal-using industries will be eager to meet these growing demands, and the British steel industry will stand ready to supply the bigger quantities of steel which they will need for that purpose.

The future of UK-Eastern trade in steel and in steel-

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Compiled by

A. K. OSBORNE, Associate in Metallurgy, Sheffield University
Technical Librarian and Information Officer, The Brown-Firth Research Laboratories, Sheffield

With a Foreword by

CHARLES SYKES, C.B.E., F.R.S., D.Sc., Ph.D., D.Met., F.Inst.P., Managing Director of Thomas Firth and John Brown Ltd.

The purpose of this Encyclopaedia is to provide a concise description of the materials, plant, tools and processes used in the Iron and Steel Industry and in those industries closely allied to it, from the preparation of the ore down to the finished product; and to define the technical terms employed.

The origins of the Encyclopaedia go back to the formation, a few years after the end of the First World War, of a Library and Information Bureau at the Brown-Firth Research Laboratories in Sheffield. The author was appointed Technical Librarian

and Information Officer at the Laboratories in 1927. From the earliest days of the Library, many enquiries of a technical nature were received, and a comprehensive card index was prepared to facilitate the answering of these queries. A few years ago it was suggested that the vast amount of information contained in this card index might form the basis of a valuable book.

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based manufactured goods looks bright. Britain lives by international trade and so she welcomes the economic growth of the Far East and the promise of the greater volume of trade to which it gives rise. Even more important, Britain seeks peace and stability in world affairs, and so she applauds the efforts of the Far Eastern countries to slay the dragons of poverty and social instability which may endanger world peace. The British steel industry stands ready to do all it can to help to sustain economic growth in Asia and Australasia, in Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries alike.

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POPULATION PROBLEMS IN ASIA—

(Continued from page 18)

years, the period within which there should be a "break-through" from the present condition of virtual stagnation. Moreover, within this period, the wealthy nations may grow weary of well-doing—as the US shows signs of doing—while the recipients of aid may become cynically sceptical of its value.

It is with this somewhat pessimistic background that the author goes on to discuss the possibilities of increasing production per head. In particular, he examines in detail the probable effect upon production of changes in the ratio of labour to capital, whether increasing or decreasing returns are to be expected, the problems involved by the creation of capital, e.g. by savings, the effects of better health, better training, and of an improvement in the will to work, and of the effects of inventions. His conclusions are pessimistic, mainly on the ground that growth in output is unlikely to outstrip the increase in population. He submits that in a deceleration of population growth lies the best hope for the future. It might be asked whether in these circumstances foreign aid is worth while. Happily, the author is able to draw upon historical experience to point to the beneficent effects that capital and inventions have had in the once undeveloped areas of Europe and America. But he remains obsessed with the finality of Malthusianism in its pure form. In examining the problem of numbers the author does not give due attention to the concept of optimum population. This is a number which will vary with changes in techniques and with the amount of capital in use in a community. No doubt this can be inferred in many of the arguments in the book, but he rejects the concept entirely in the introduction.

The difficulties are indeed great but the outlook is not entirely black. If, as is largely the case, the area is agricultural, capital must be directed to increasing the yield of the soil—by irrigation, machinery, fertilisers and so on. At present, yields are so very poor that modern techniques can increase them far more quickly than a resulting increase in the population: the author himself quotes the example of the pilot project at Etawa. A prosperous agriculture can be the basis on which all else can be built. This means that foreign aid or any capital that may be formed within the country could with advantage be injected direct into agriculture. Belshaw discusses the question of capital in somewhat too general a way. Planning in this field in Asia at this time is vitally necessary. Loans, machinery, and knowledge should not be disseminated at random: strategic objectives should be carefully chosen. For instance, a particular crop should be chosen for its food value or an industry for its importance in exports, with the product of which it could obtain capital equipment or food or whatever was most useful at the moment. The author has some particularly valuable things to say on the utilisation of idle labour to create capital. This can be easily done with simple mechanical means (e.g. cement is inexpensive to make). In India too high a ratio of capital in relation to labour has often been used. In the East, capital is the scarce factor, and the ideal ratio of one to the other is not the same as in Europe.

GROWTH OF INDIAN STEEL

By A Special Correspondent in New Delhi

NEXT year, 1957, will be the Jubilee Year of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., which was launched in 1907, steel being first produced on a commercial scale in 1914. At that time, the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. will be well advanced with its current expansion scheme, the aim of which is to increase production to two million ingot tons.

It is interesting to contrast the financial provisions made for the expansion scheme with the original financing of the Company. When the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. was formed Tatas decided to raise fresh capital in England. They failed. The City of London had little faith in the project. Accordingly, the entire capital required for construction requirements (£1.36 million) was raised in India. The Tata Iron & Steel Company's standing during the intervening fifty years has increased to the extent that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The World Bank) is making a loan of \$75 million. This is the largest loan granted by the World Bank to an industrial undertaking anywhere in the world and the largest single loan granted for any purpose to any country in Asia. The cost of the expansion scheme is estimated at Rs.62 crores (£46½ million). To this is to be added the cost of related work (site clearing, modifications to existing shops, provision of rolling stock, and other items) and expenditure on the collieries, ore mines and quarries, to

meet the added requirements, and expenditure on a new electric ferro manganese plant. These will bring the total expenditure to Rs.75 crores (56½ million).

That private enterprise in India is willing to envisage expenditure of this kind suggests that it is confident that the Government of India's doctrine of a mixed economy represents a permanent state of affairs and that it is not merely one step along the road to total Socialism or total nationalisation. Reference in this context might be made to the Government of India's statements of industrial policy made in 1948 and in 1956.

Western observers might find the concept of the mixed economy difficult to understand. In Europe nationalisation has involved entire industries. In India the Government's declared policy is that State enterprise and private enterprise may operate together in the same industry. This is perhaps easier to understand if it is looked upon as a reflection, in the domestic economy of the country, of India's philosophy of neutrality in her foreign policy. Thus as she maintains a neutral position between the two world blocs so it would seem she is maintaining a neutral position between the rival claims of capitalist and Socialist economies within her own borders.

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physical assets, the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. is moving into a revised if not a new relationship with labour. During the last year or so a comprehensive agreement between the Company and the Union was made, a special feature of which was that it contained an important declaration of intention to bring about a closer association of employees with management in the working of the industry. In August of this year a supplemental agreement was signed by the Company and the Union. Under this agreement the considerable machinery already in existence for joint consultation will be rationalised and, with the exclusion of matters concerned with collective bargaining or grievance procedures, will be brought within a three-tier structure of consultative councils.

It is the declared endeavour of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. to complete this expansion scheme as expeditiously as possible. With three new steel works being put down in India at the same time in the public sector there is an added stimulus to private enterprise to complete its task swiftly. The plan is to complete the expansion scheme in under three years.

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A five-ton Birlec Mains Frequency Coreless Induction holding furnace, for installation in a large mechanised alloy iron foundry, is soon to be shipped to the Tata Engineering & Locomotive Works at Jamshedpur, India. This furnace, of a newly developed design, represents the completion of a larger order including two three-ton and two seven-ton Birlec Lectromelt arc furnaces together with two laboratory size furnaces.

India's Private Sector

Addressing a meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Finance Corporation in Washington recently, Mr. B. Rama Rao (India) said India believed that the Corporation would be of considerable help in strengthening private enterprise in less developed regions. He said that while the Government of India was undertaking some of the very large industrial projects of the second Five-Year Plan, a substantial burden of the plan was being assumed by the private sector. That sector was handicapped by shortage of capital and foreign exchange. He expressed hope that the IFC would help remove this handicap.

Indian State Trading Corporation

The State Trading Corporation of India which was set up in May this year had, by the end of September, entered into contracts for imports and exports of the total value of over Rs.153 million. The value of contracts for exports is about Rs.70 million, while the contracts for imports account for over Rs.83 million. The Corporation has so far obtained orders for export of nearly 700,000 tons of iron ore to a number of countries including Japan, Italy, Hungary and Poland. The contracts have been made for the supply of about 70,000 tons of manganese ore, mainly to Japan.

The Corporation has also contracted to supply 500 tons of coffee and 500,000 pairs of shoes to the Soviet Union by the end of the year. Imports by the Corporation include caustic soda and ash gypsum fertilisers and cement. Soda ash is being imported from China and East Germany; caustic soda from the United Kingdom and East Germany; fertilisers from the US and East Germany; and gypsum from Pakistan. The imports of cement contracted for by the Corporation so far total 483,000 tons.

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Peking's Heavy Priority

TO transform China from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial one is the aim of the Chinese Government. The resolution passed by the recent Congress of the Chinese Communist Party emphasised the necessity to "complete the creation of a basically comprehensive industrial system, within a period of three 5-Year Plans or a little longer" and that heavy industrial production must be given a markedly dominant position in industrial production as a whole. The resolution stressed the attitude that "we must not permit any neglect of the fundamental principle governing national construction — the principle of giving priority to the development of heavy industry. The tendency to demand that all fields of construction press ahead simultaneously, without any distinction between the important and the less important and between the urgent and the less urgent, is wrong."

This attitude found its reflection in the proposals on the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) adopted by the Congress. The First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) had set as a target, that the total value of industrial and agricultural output in 1957 should be by 51.1 percent higher than that of 1952. But it is estimated that the actual increase will be more than 60 percent. The proposals for the forthcoming Five-Year Plan require that the total value of industrial and agricultural output in 1962 should show an increase of about 75 percent as compared with 1957. The 1962 industrial output would be double the planned target for 1957, and agricultural output during this period would increase by 35 percent.

Within the industrial field it had been planned that by 1957 the capital goods producing industries would account for 38 percent of the entire industrial output, but it was estimated that their share will exceed 40 percent.

Chou En-lai stated at the Congress, that the national income in the Second Plan would be 50 percent above that of the First Five-Year Plan, and that approximately 40 percent of the total state revenue would be spent to ensure a relatively high speed for the development of industry and agriculture. The machine-building and metallurgical industries would receive special attention. It was planned that 70 percent of the machinery equipment needed for construction would be China-made with the completion of the Second 5-Year Plan. This is of course a very ambitious aim, especially when the magnitude of the overall development plans of China are taken into consideration. But it would establish a sound basis within the country itself for further economic development and would reduce the dependence on importation of capital equipment.

Wang Ho-hsou, Minister of Metallurgical Industry, in his address at the Congress, stated that China's steel production has been increasing at the rate of 32.5 percent a year in the first 5-Year Plan, and that steel output was expected to jump from 1,349,000 tons in 1952 to 5.5 million tons in 1957 and from between 10.5 to 12 million tons in 1962. This high rate of expansion of the steel industry was, the Minister said, indispensable for China's progress to industrialisation. He added that "only by maintaining a higher rate of steel expansion than the capitalist countries could China ever catch up with their industrial level."

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Japan's Iron and Steel Industry

By A Correspondent in Tokyo

JAPAN'S iron and steel industry has shown spectacular development during the post-War period, and has surpassed by far the industry's pre-war production and export levels. In 1955 the exports were nearly five-fold in quantity compared with pre-War years.

During the period 1934-6 the average annual exports of iron and steel products amounted to 412,000 metric tons to the value of US \$18.6 million, and accounted for only 2 percent of the value of Japan's total exports. In 1950 the exports of these goods amounted to 589,000 tons, in 1952 to over 1,630,000 tons, and in 1955 they reached 1,988,000 tons valued at \$259.4 million or 12.7 percent of the total value of Japan's exports. Thus in 1955 exports of this industry surpassed the value of Japan's exports of cotton fabrics, the latter being valued at \$229.8 million. In addition to these direct exports, the industry's products constituted an integral part of goods exported by Japan's machine-building, ship-building and many other industries which accounted for a large share of the country's overall exports.

During the first half of 1956 the exports of iron and steel amounted to the value of \$135.6 million, or 4.5 less than during the corresponding period of 1955 (Bank of Tokyo *Weekly Review*, July 28, 1956). In July the exports were valued at \$22.8 million or 9.1 percent lower than in June. But the August exports valued at \$26.6 million represented a new upsurge of exports and were 16.5 percent higher than

those of July, and the exports of these goods to the sterling area were by 36.5 percent higher than during the previous month.

Before the war Asian countries were the main customers of Japan's iron and steel industry. In the post-war years exports to South American countries, mainly to Argentine and Brazil, increased sharply. Exports to the Argentine were stepped up from 33,000 tons in 1952, to 139,000 tons in 1953, to 248,953 tons in 1954, and to 452,000 tons in 1955. The importance of Australia as a market for Japanese steel can be judged from the fact, that the exports to that country increased from 17,941 tons in 1954 to 114,086 tons in 1955.

In the post-war period up to the outbreak of the Korean war approximately half of Japan's iron and steel exports to Asian markets went to China. After the imposition of embargo on trade with China, exports to China decreased sharply, and India, Pakistan, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaya as well as the Philippines became the principal markets of Japan's steel industry in that region. The demand for iron and steel products is steadily growing in these countries, and this trend is bound to continue in connection with their economic development. In fact, the shortage of steel supplies is in many cases retarding the pace of economic developments.

Japan's iron and steel industry which sustained heavy damage during the war has carried out a successful rehabilitation and development programme. An overall modernisation

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of equipment has been carried out which has led to an increased and improved production.

In 1955 the output of Japan's iron and steel industry amounted to 5,216,766 tons of pig iron (as against 2.0 million tons in 1936, and 2.2 million tons in 1950), 9,407,695 tons of steel (as against an output of steel ingots and castings of 5.2 million tons in 1936, and 4.8 million tons in 1950), 6,931,752 tons of hot roll ordinary steel products, 318,616 tons of hot roll special steel products, 660,972 tons of galvanised iron sheet, and 432,233 tons of ordinary steel pipe. A further increase took place during the first half of 1956, when the industry's output was by 16.3 percent higher than that of the corresponding period of 1955, and by 11 percent higher than during the second half of 1955.

The steel ingot output for the current fiscal year (1 April, 1956—31 March, 1957) was originally scheduled at 10,420,000 tons. But it became apparent in May that production at this level would be insufficient, and a revised target of 11,330,000 tons was fixed. Following the applications by the steel companies, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry approved an increase of official prices of pig iron and steel products for deliveries after August 1. The new official prices are to remain unchanged for one year in order to effect long-range stabilisation of prices. The prices of pig iron have been increased by 2,000 yen per ton to 27,500 yen for pig iron for manufacturing steel, and to 30,000 yen for pig iron for making cast metal. The prices for steel have been increased by 3,000—4,000 yen per ton new prices of bar steel (19mm.) having been fixed at 47,000 yen and of steel plates (12mm.) at 52,000 yen.

The magnitude of required quantities of scrap iron can be seen from the fact that it is estimated that to reach the

new output target additional 600,000 tons would have to be imported, which would mean an increase by approx. 50 percent of the 1955 imports which amounted to 1,286,000 metric tons (as against an average annual quantity of 1.5 million tons during the 1934-36 period).

In connection with the increased output of the iron and steel industry the requirements of iron ore increased sharply, and despite the fact that due to an increased domestic output of iron ore only 70 percent of the supplies had to be imported in recent years, as against 90 percent in the pre-war years, the actual imports of iron ore increased from an annual average of 3.6 million tons during the 1934-6 period to 5,459,000 tons in 1955. Before the war 43 percent of iron ore imports came from Malaya, 36 percent from China, and 9 percent from the Philippines. In 1955, Malaya still headed the list of major suppliers with approx. 30 percent (1,632,000 tons), followed by the Philippines — 1,616,000 tons, India — 959,000 tons, and Canada, Goa and the United States. Iron imports from Mainland China have decreased to almost nothing since the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 when 14 percent was recorded as imported from that country.

Even a greater share of Japan's total coal imports came from China before the war, when 4.8 million metric tons were imported annually. At that time 70 percent came from China, 15 percent from North Viet Nam and 13 percent from Korea. In 1950 China still accounted for 64 percent of Japan's total coal imports, followed by India with 10 percent, the USA with 9 percent and the Soviet Union with 7 percent. But in 1955 Japan's total imports amounted to 2,861,000 metric tons, and the US share accounted for 2,364,000 tons, while the imports from China were only 90,000 tons and those from India — 24,000 tons.

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STEEL IN DEMAND

By V. Wolpert

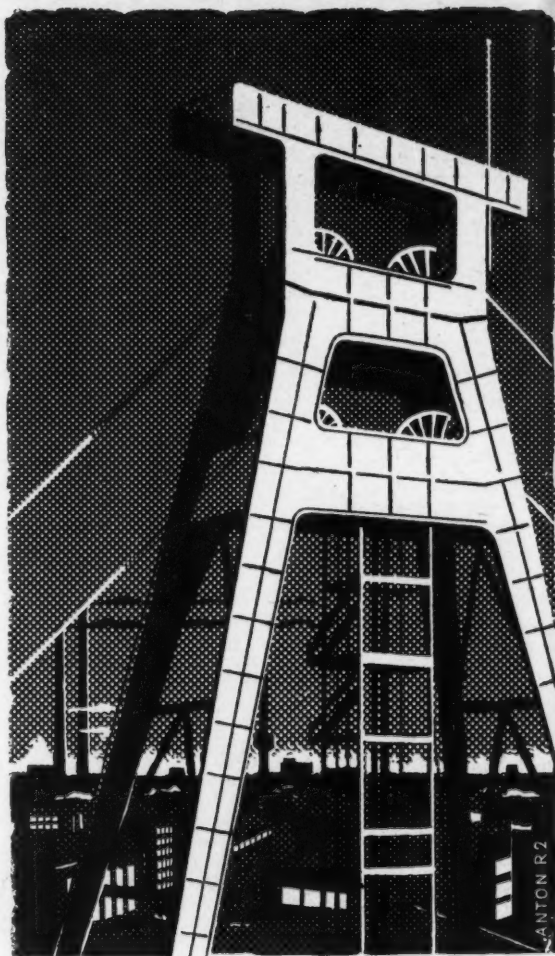
ASIAN countries depend largely in their economic development on steadily increasing steel supplies and their requirements of iron and steel goods are urgent. Western countries, the traditional suppliers of these goods to South-East Asia, are under pressure of increased demands from their own markets and from other areas of the world.

Countries in the West are increasing their steel production, but it is noteworthy that while US production increased from 80.1 million metric tons in 1954 to 106.2 million tons in 1955, and the production in France during this period increased from 10.6 million to 12.6 million tons, the exports of these countries increased only from 2.6 million to 3.4 million tons and from 3.3 million to 4.1 million tons respectively. West Germany's steel production increased from 17.4 million tons in 1954 to 21.3 million tons in 1955, but while West Germany was a net exporter of 0.7 million tons in 1954, she became a net importer of 0.1 million tons in 1955. Only Belgium increased her exports by the same volume as the increased production, that is, by 0.9 million tons, when the 1954 production of 5.0 million tons increased to 5.9 million tons in 1955, the exports increased from 4.2 million to 5.1 million tons.

In 1956 the orders for steel and metal goods continued to increase, and during the first 4 months of 1956 the steel mills in western Europe secured larger orders than in the previous year, in the case of Italy the increase amounted to over 10 percent, in the case of Belgium and Western Germany about 3 percent.

Further production increases are to take place gradually within the next few years, and it remains to be seen what percentage of the increased steel production would be available for exports in general, and exports to Asian countries in particular. But the urgency of the requirements of Asian countries and the importance attached by the West European steel industries to the Asian markets (an article by Sir Ernest Lever on the UK steel industry appears on page 34 of this issue) can be seen from the fact that despite the world shortage of steel, the total exports from the West European Coal and Steel Community countries (West Germany, Belgium-Luxemburg, France, the Saar, Italy, and Holland) of iron and steel products, included in their arrangements, to Asia has reached 829,724 metric tons during the first six months of 1956 as against 560,773 tons during the corresponding period of 1955.

Exports from these West European continental countries to the Pacific Ocean region increased by 10 percent from 62,000 metric tons in the first six months of 1955 to 68,400 tons during the first half of 1956. The 1956 exports included 56,300 metric tons to Australia and 7,457 metric tons to New Zealand.



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SCOTLAND AND ASIA

By A. James

SCOTLAND'S connections with Asia and the Pacific region are of long standing, and Scots played an important part in the development of industries like rubber, tin and jute in Asian countries. Today, Scottish industries find an important outlet for their products in that area. Although, for obvious reasons, the UK export statistics do not show separately the value of exports from Scotland, it is a well known fact that Scottish industries make an important contribution to Britain's export trade.

Various Scottish industrial enterprises have provided training facilities to Asian nationals. Recently U Kyaw Sein Thein, assistant engineer of the Rangoon Electricity Supply Board, Burma, arrived in this country for six months' training with the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board under the Colombo Plan Technical Cooperation Scheme.

Scotland possesses, as the "Buyers' Guide to Scottish Industries" (published by the Scottish Council—Development and Industry) shows, a very diversified industry, and in recent years a number of new industrial activities have arisen.

Shipbuilding and allied industries, based on a long tradition, occupy an important place in this British industry. Lloyds Register Shipbuilding Returns show that by September 30, 1956, out of a total of 308 steam- and motor-ships, 139 ships referred to Scottish shipbuilding districts, including the Clyde district with 105 ships of 632,414 tons gross.

Many ships plying between the UK and Australasia have been built on the Clyde. Clyde's specialised shipbuilding yards, which build dredgers, salvage vessels and river craft, have been supplying Asian ports and shipping for a long time. Fleming & Ferguson Ltd., Paisley, have delivered several dredgers to Burma and Thailand, William Simons & Co. Ltd., Renfrew, have an order in hand for a dredger for the Port of Calcutta to be completed next year, Ferguson Brothers (Port Glasgow) Ltd., have recently built a small tanker for use in the waters of Singapore, and Yarrow & Co. Ltd. have built several 400 ton river craft for Burma. Among suppliers of the allied industries William McNeil & Co. Ltd., Glasgow, who have supplied Lambert-Garland mooring buoys to various Far Eastern markets, have also delivered plant and material to the Cheoy Lee Shipyard in Hong Kong for a launch for the Sarawak Government.

Scottish firms—builders of railway rolling stock—including North British Locomotive Co. Ltd., Hurst, Nelson & Co. Ltd., Pressed Steel Co. Ltd., R. Y. Pickering & Co. Ltd., have close connections with the Indian, Pakistan and Malaya railways to whom they supply their products.

Scottish steel products find a good market in Asia and only recently the India Store Department of the High Commission of India in London placed a contract for 111 sets of unmachined bar frames with Beardmore & Co. and a contract for 67 sets of main bar frames with the North British Locomotive Co.

With the development of the aircraft industry in this country and the development of aviation in Asia, a new link has been formed by the Scottish Aviation Ltd., who supply single engine Prestwick Pioneers to Asian countries. One of these planes is to be used for internal air services in New

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SCOTTISH INDUSTRY WILL BENEFIT

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The P & O cargo steamer, "Shillong," recently sailed from Grangemouth to continue the new service inaugurated in June. The "Shillong" and her sister ships, "Sunda," "Singapore" and "Surat," all of which are capable of service speeds of 18 knots, will be the four vessels making regular calls at Grangemouth in the future. Each vessel will load for Penang, Port Swettenham and Singapore, to give complete port coverage in Malaya, thereafter proceeding to Hong Kong, Japan and Shanghai. These vessels follow the same route homewards, making the voyage from Port Swettenham, the last port in Malaya, direct to Europe in 19 days.

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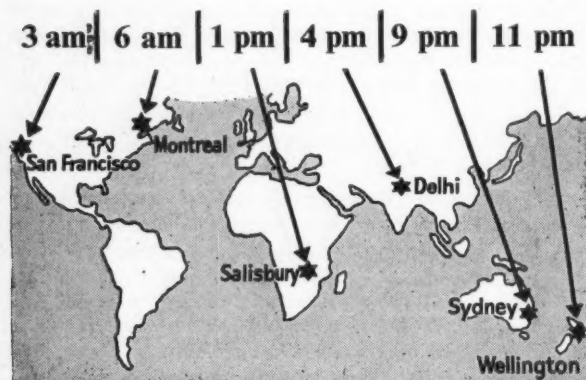




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Guinea. Scotland's engineering industries supply a wide range of products including mining machinery, sugar machinery, and various types of cranes to Asian countries. Lambert Engineering Co. (Glasgow) Ltd., manufacturers of "Hydrocon" mobile crane, who have supplied their cranes to Australia and New Zealand, have also exported two cranes to the Japanese Government Departments, Nochi Kaikatsu Kikai Kodan, one for Konsen and one for Kamiketa.

In Dundee and its surroundings, the centre of Britain's jute industry, which is a large importer of jute from Pakistan and India, textile machinery industry supplying jute mills has been built up. Thus Dundee has a two-way trade with the Indian sub-continent. During the first 4 months of India's new financial year (April-July 1956) India's imports of jute machinery from the UK reached the value of Rs.25.5 million as against Rs.11.2 million during the corresponding period of last year.

Scotland's paper making industry contributes largely to the UK exports. UK total exports of paper, paper board, etc., during the first 8 months of this year amounted to £1,083,865 to India, £356,040 to Pakistan, £302,315 to Singapore, £238,122 to Federation of Malaya, £519,535 to Ceylon, £231,064 to Hong Kong, £6,147,518 to Australia, £2,093,285 to New Zealand, £98,112 to Burma.

An interesting order for textile chemicals was secured recently by Newell Chemical Ltd., Hawick, from Formosa and it appears that there are possibilities for developing this market. In the field of formapex plastic laminates the Glasgow firm of IOCO Ltd., which supplies sheets and tubes, offers products of interest to Asian countries in connection with the industrialisation of Asian electrical, textile, chemical and engineering industries.

Even a scanty review of Scottish industries must mention two others which are closely associated with Scotland, namely the whisky and the biscuit industries. The following table shows the development of the exports of cereals to the Asian and Pacific areas.

UK exports of cereals and cereal preparations

		1955	1956
		First eight months of the year	First eight months of the year
		£	£
India	...	67,485	81,989
Pakistan	...	49,156	31,951
Singapore	...	270,128	331,872
Federation of Malaya	...	257,671	258,159
Ceylon	...	182,274	195,725
Hong Kong	...	120,910	91,427
Burma	...	128,627	32,423

The total exports of cereals and cereal preparations during the first 8 months of 1956 amounted to £12 million and included exports of biscuits to the value of £3.2 million.

An important contribution to the overall British shipping industry in general and to the shipping to Asia, Far East and the Pacific in particular, has been made by the Scots. A number of leading shipping lines, supplying efficient shipping services between the various ports of the UK, Continent and various countries of Asia and the Pacific, have their head offices in Scotland, e.g. the Ben Line Steamers Ltd., in Edinburgh. Recognising the importance of direct freight service between Scotland and the Far East, the P & O Company have opened a regular service to the Far East from the Scottish east-coast port of Grangemouth. This service is being maintained by four fast cargo ships which call in at Malaya, Hong Kong, Japan and Shanghai.

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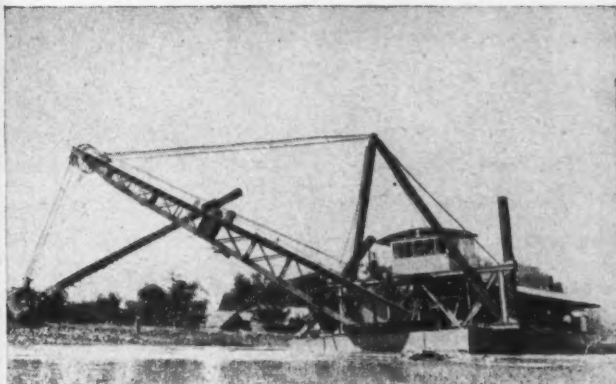


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JUTE AS A TRADE LINK

By A Correspondent in Dundee

THE jute industry is one of the great trade links of the world and nowhere is it stronger than between the United Kingdom and Asia.

East Pakistan (67 percent) and India (30 percent) between them grow practically the whole of the world jute requirements. The processing of raw jute is now done in many parts of the world but the spiritual home of the jute industry is Dundee, the fourth largest city in Scotland. It was there that the commercial use of jute was first exploited in 1832 after years of experiment and it was from there that all the other world jute manufacturing industries have sprung. Today India and the United Kingdom are the first and second largest producers of jute goods, with Pakistan now making an increasing contribution from her expanding new industry. It is of interest that the Indian industry celebrated its centenary in 1955.

Since the Indian sub-Continent has a monopoly of raw jute it is pertinent to ask why the Scottish city of Dundee, and its surrounding district, should have become the hub of this world industry. The answer is simply one of textile evolution. When jute fibre was first discovered by the western world in 1796 by the East India Company representatives, parcels of it were sent to Britain. Dundee, which has a 500-year history as a centre for the spinning and weaving of coarse textiles—wool, flax and jute—was the one place in the whole country that had the machinery and the technical ability to exploit the new fibre. It is true to say that the fibre was first of all adapted to the existing flax machinery, for it had to be made into tow before it could be spun to overcome its great length and then it had to be impregnated with oil and water—Dundee was then an important whaling port—to overcome its extreme dryness.

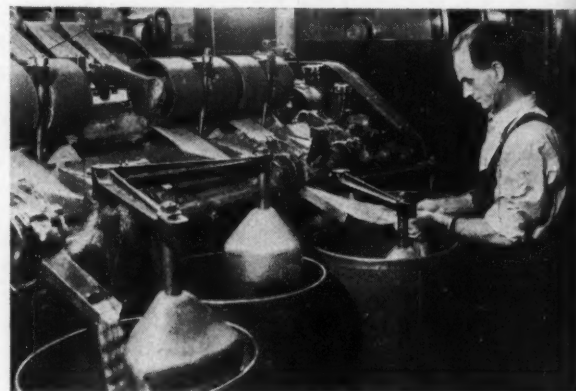
These early processing problems called for years of experiment and it was not until 1832 that jute became established and a new industry was born. In about 1838 the Dutch placed orders in Dundee for jute sacks to be used for carrying the crop of coffee beans from the East Indies. The subsequent rapid growth of the Dundee industry and the demand for other types of jute cloth were perhaps due more to the success of this experiment than to any other cause. Subsequently, the rise of Calcutta as a processing centre made a tremendous impact on world markets for jute goods, and Dundee, in the face of low-cost competition, lost its lead as the foremost supplier. Gradually it has tended to concentrate on special goods, leaving the bulk of standard goods to be imported from India and, more recently, Pakistan.

Today, the Dundee and district jute industry is not only one of Scotland's traditional industries. It is also one of the most up-to-date in the country; and in its own particular field as modern as any in the world. Production is still below prewar level and the efforts to modernise processing have been concentrated on raising efficiency rather than physical expansion of output. By the end of this year the British jute industry will have spent about £10 million on modernisation since the end of the second world war. Old machinery in mills has been scrapped and new plant installed. During the installation, the opportunity has been taken of introducing as

far as possible flowline production methods and new materials handling procedure. Electric power is also the motive force in place of steam-raising coal.

This modernisation has followed a well-defined pattern. The first re-equipping was almost wholly done in the spinning mills with the result that labour productivity in spinning has risen by 40 percent in recent years. Of late, attention has been given to the weaving side with the attachment of automatic loading shuttles to existing flat looms and the increased installation of the circular loom which weaves cloth in a tubular form, particularly suitable for bag making.

Working conditions have also considerably improved. Works canteens are practically universal as are welfare and personnel management. Internal and public relations also play an important part in the industry's present day activities. Wages of workers since 1945 have increased by 90 percent for male workers and by 107 percent for female workers. A new wages structure based on job evaluation was introduced



Jute sliver being delivered from a drawing frame before spinning

in 1952 and has been described as a model of its kind. While job evaluation is not new, this was the first time that it had been introduced on an industry-wide basis in Britain.

On the research side, the scientists of the British Jute Trade Association laboratories are constantly investigating wider uses for jute. Considerable research has gone into the treatment of jute fabric to withstand rotting from soil contamination and sea water, and in proofing against fire, water and acid fumes. While the processing of jute in the United Kingdom is centred on Dundee the merchandising and making-up of jute bags is spread over the whole of the country. Secondhand bag merchandising is also extensive and is conducted in the main seaports like Liverpool, London, Hull, Bristol and Greenock. It is not surprising that Liverpool should be the headquarters of this side of the industry since Merseyside is the largest milling centre in Europe. The big seed crushing firms, animal food compounders and the chemical industry of nearby Cheshire are all large users of jute bags. In these secondhand bag firms, the latest methods

of cleaning are used.

Throughout the UK jute industry, therefore, there has been a transformation of working methods. The objective has been to produce a better product and raise efficiency by improvements in technique and know-how in processing. This is important in these competitive days when the challenge of substitutes for jute in packaging and other fields is pressing. In addition to higher technical efficiency, the need of the UK jute industry is for adequate and reasonably-priced supplies of raw jute. It is significant that when jute became scarce and dear after the partition of the Indian sub-continent, and later during the Korean War inflationary period, substitutes for jute made their biggest progress.

Another interesting link between Dundee and both the Indian and Pakistani jute industries is the fact that for 20 years the Textile Department of Dundee Technical College has opened its doors to overseas students. Almost all the foreign students attending the jute processing course are Indian and Pakistani. At present there are 46 day students from the Indian sub-continent taking a three-year course. These include an Aga Khan scholar, a Colombo Plan scholar, and two Pakistani Government scholarship students. The course embraces all forms of jute manufacture and leads to the award of the Technical College's Diploma in Jute Manufacturing.

Close association between the United Kingdom and the Indian and Pakistani jute industries also lies in the provision of textile machinery. In recent years, considerable quantities of all types of jute processing machines have been sent from the United Kingdom to Chittagong and Chalna to equip both the private and Government sponsored mills in Pakistan.

THE HISTORIC UNITY OF VIET NAM—

(Continued from page 12)

during the past hundred years. The whole conception of revolutionary change found among pre-19th century Vietnamese is adequately summed up in the old Vietnamese proverb *Duoc lam vua, thua lam giac*, which means "If you overthrow the government you become an emperor, but if you fail you become a rebel." In Viet Nam today are found Communists, Socialists, democrats, republicans, and all other shades of western political opinion competing to win men's minds. The modern educated Vietnamese is a sceptic, a man with an open mind searching for new and better ideas. He has broken with his traditionalist past for ever. It is not an exaggeration to describe the educated Vietnamese of 1956 as western in his ideas. He is thinking in western terms and along western lines. He is far less bound by the past and by the traditions or religion of his country than is, for example, the modern Indian or Burmese. There are some politicians who still think along old-fashioned lines, but these are the older men who are out of touch with present conditions.

The long war for independence has left in Viet Nam a situation dangerous and explosive. It may be possible to resolve the difficulties satisfactorily by carefully weighing and assessing all the factors which are today relevant. Misleading, ill-informed, and propagandist comment can only serve to obscure the real issues and may well lead to a settlement which is disastrous both for Viet Nam and the rest of the world.



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Wool Going Strong

THE Commonwealth Economic Committee's provisional estimates of world wool production with 4,940 million lb., greasy basis, for 1956-57 year, show a 3 percent increase over the last year's production. The main increase is expected to take place in Australia, the 1955-56 production of 1,399 million lb. is to increase to 1,480 million lb. in 1956-57, or by over 5 percent. New Zealand's production is expected to rise from 462 million lb. to 470 million lb. while the estimates of production in India with 72 million lb. and in Pakistan with 30 million lb. represent unchanged levels of the last 5 years. The world production has been expanding steadily, and since 1946-47 has increased by over 30 percent.

Australia's share of the world production in 1956-57 is estimated at 30 percent. A major reason for the increased number of sheep in Australia during recent years is to be found in the fact that there was no serious drought during that period. But one has also to acknowledge that Australian graziers have made heavy investments following the 1950-51 boom, by providing grazing for sheep and cattle, by using seeds of the better types of grass, and thus improving natural pastures. It is reported that recent research into soil deficiencies has shown that the addition of even very small quantities of certain minerals can greatly improve soil fertility and provide rich grassland.

Despite the higher production estimates the prices at the September wool sales in Australia were higher than in July 1956, and merino wool fetched approximately 27 percent and crossbreds 17 percent higher than the 1955 September averages. The New Zealand wool marketing season opened in Dunedin on October 22 with prices a few pence per clean pound above those ruling at the close of last season a few months ago.

The higher quotations reflect the high levels of activities of wool textile industries in the world. Japanese purchases of wool appear to be even higher than at the end of the last season. Japan's wool imports increased from 156 million lb. in 1954 to 205.4 million lb. in 1955, and amounted to 120.2 million lb. during the first 5 months of 1956.

In addition to these pure economic factors, Mr. L. C. Taussig, Chairman of J. Whittingham & Sons Ltd., Bradford, referred, in his address to the General Meeting of his Company on October 26, to the possible implications of the Suez Canal news, uncertainty as to the effects of exceptionally bad weather in Australia, and the wool shearing dispute in Queensland. Mr. Taussig declared that "as compared with March 31 1956, wool prices generally have risen by over 20 percent, but it is difficult to gauge the extent to which political considerations and the shearing dispute have contributed to this rapid rate." It appears that even if some price fluctuations take place, the strong trend of wool prices is soundly based on the high level of wool consumption, and potentialities of a further increase of world consumption, not least in Asian countries.

INDIA'S TRADE WITH EASTERN EUROPE

DURING the period April—July 1956, the first 4 months of India's new financial year, the country's trade with Eastern Europe increased considerably as against the corresponding period of the previous year. The following table shows the development of India's trade with the various countries of Eastern Europe:—

	India's Imports		India's Exports	
	1955	1956 4 months, April-July	1955	1956
Soviet Union	8.2	43.6	8.4	26.8
Poland	0.7	5.7	0.8	4.1
E. Germany	1.2	1.0	0.2	0.1
Hungary	0.2	2.0	0.3	0.2
Czechoslovakia	4.1	20.1	3.2	9.3
Bulgaria	0.2	1.9	0.1	0.2
Roumania	0.8	1.6	0.1	0.3
	15.4	75.9	13.1	41.0

(All figures in million roubles)

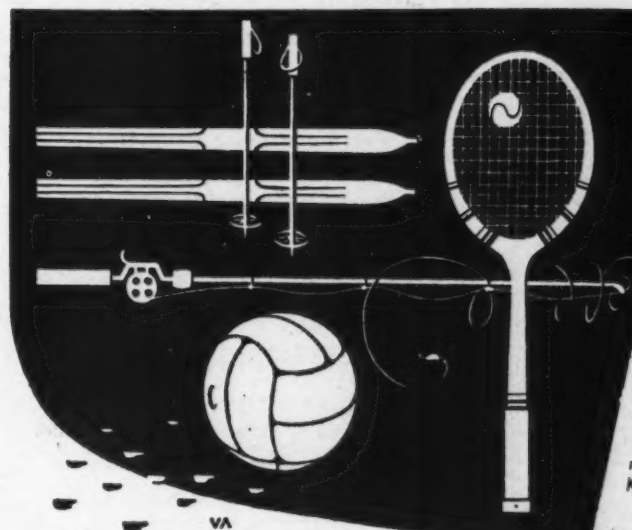
The table shows that India's imports from Eastern Europe have increased nearly five times and India's exports to that area more than three-fold, also that India has an unfavourable trade balance with that region. India's main trading partners were the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Following the talks between representatives of India's Ministry of Commerce and Consumer Industries and the trade delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Inner German Trade of the German Democratic Republic, letters on trade between the two countries were exchanged in New Delhi at the beginning of October.

The new arrangements will remain in force for three years. The earlier arrangements signed in 1954 expired on October 15. Both parties have agreed to facilitate movement of goods between the two countries in accordance with their import, export and foreign exchange regulations in force in each country.

Important items which India will export to East Germany are tobacco, mica, chrome ore, ilmenite, iron ore, manganese ore, shellac, vegetable oils, cashew nuts, textiles, coir handicrafts and products of India's chemical and engineering industries. India will import from East Germany various kinds of machinery, locomotives, plant and equipment for cement and sugar production, optical and scientific instruments and appliances, wireless communications equipment, newsprint and raw films.

It has also been agreed that all payment between the two countries will be settled in India.



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JETS IN INDIA

THE Indian Government has ordered 25 Folland Gnat light jet fighters and will also manufacture Gnats under licence at the Bangalore works of Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. Deliveries of British-built Gnats will begin in April, 1957, and will be spread over a period of about two years.

To facilitate the start of production in India, Folland will supply a number of component and detail parts and will train Indian technicians both at its Hamble, Southampton, factories, and in India. Both British and Indian-built Gnats will have the Bristol Orpheus engine. The contracts were signed by Mrs. Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in London, on behalf of the Indian Government, and by Mr. W. E. W. Petter, the company's Managing Director and Chief Engineer, who designed the Gnat, on behalf of Folland Aircraft Ltd.

At the same time an agreement between the Government of India and Bristol Aero Engines Ltd., providing for comprehensive technical assistance in the manufacture of gas-turbine aero-engines in India, was signed in London. It includes authority to manufacture under licence the full range of Bristol Orpheus turbojet engines.

After the agreements were signed Mr. Reginald Maudling,

the Minister of Supply, commented: "I welcome this example of collaboration between the Government of India and Britain's aircraft industry, and I commend the enterprise shown by Folland Aircraft and Bristol Aero-Engines in negotiating these agreements. India is now entering for the first time the highly specialised field of precision engineering for aviation, and the agreements mark the start of a new industry in India — gas turbine manufacture. The venture has the full support of the British Government, for it will help to foster and maintain good relations between our two countries and will advance the technical resources of the Commonwealth's engineering industry."

As a first phase, Bristol is sending engineers to India to assist in the establishment of manufacturing capacity there. Indian technicians will also be trained at Bristol's factories in Britain. This will be followed by the supply of complete Orpheus engines to India; later, as local production builds up, the Bristol contribution will reduce to sub-assemblies and components until finally manufacture is almost wholly Indian.

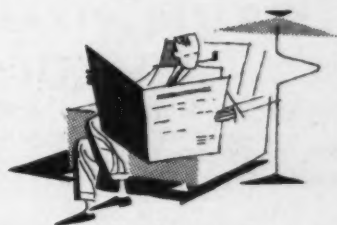
It is planned that India's first jet engine factory will be situated near Bangalore, where facilities already exist for the overhaul and maintenance of aero-engines.

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TRADE, FINANCE AND INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Japanese "People's Car" on Trial

It is claimed that in the sturdiness of body and the economical consumption of petrol, the new car could compete with any other car in the world. Even though its price is not disclosed, conjectures are that it might have to be sold at about ¥450,000, but this is not low enough to attract purchasers. A second and a third trial car will, in all probability, be manufactured to be sold at a lower price.

Japan's Trade with Greece

The Governments of Japan and Greece have agreed to adopt a new trade plan covering transactions between the two nations. The plan is put into force retroactively from April 1 this year to be effective for one year until the end of March next year.

The previous trade plan, which was signed on March 12, 1955, expired at the end of March this year, and trade negotiations were held in Athens since July between representatives of both Governments to work out a new agreement, paying special attention to the expansion of the trade.

Under the new agreement the total value of the trade for one year between the two nations remains unchanged at \$2.5 million each way. The major Japanese exports to Greece include \$1.1 million

worth of machinery, \$200,000 worth each of metals and metal products, ceramics, textile products and canned fish meals, while those to Japan consist of \$1 million worth of dried fruits (\$300,000 under the previous trade plan), \$500,000 worth of leaf tobacco (\$200,000), and \$400,000 worth of raw cotton. The credit margin is raised by \$250,000 to \$500,000.

Under the previous trade plan, Japan exported to Greece \$642,000 worth of goods and imported \$474,000 worth through the open-account settlement formula. In addition, Japan exported to Greece \$2.67 million worth of goods and imported \$228,000 worth on the US dollar and the pound sterling settlement basis. The most important exports on the cash settlement basis were shipping bottoms.

China's New Power Projects

A progress report on 7 new major power stations and extensions to another 11 existing stations, all being built with the assistance of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and Hungary, was made by the Ministry of the Electric Power Industry last month. All these projects are scheduled under China's first 5-Year Plan.

Shanghai's Chapei Power Plant, expanded with the Czechoslovak aid, has now gone into operation. Most of the

other 17 will be completed during 1957. The generating capacity of these plants will account for one-sixth of China's total scheduled increase in generating capacity.

The new power stations are in China's major cities and construction areas, including Peking, Tangshan, Shihkiachwang, Shanghai, Tsingtao, Canton, the new coal industry base in Pingdingshan of Honan Province, and the new harbour in Tsamkong, Kwangtung Province. Three stations built with the assistance of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, would serve the new textile industry cities in Hopei and Honan Provinces.

Australia-Formosa Trade Negotiations

The Australian Government is sending its trade representative from the Philippines to Taiwan to negotiate a trade agreement with Formosa. Formosa has imported annually some US\$3,000,000 of wool from Australia, mostly via Hong Kong, while exports to Australia amounted to about US\$100,000 a year. Items exported were aluminium products, tea, hat bodies and cement.

Under the projected agreement Formosa may buy wheat, dairy products and more wool from Australia and supply Australia with aluminium products, hat bodies, tea

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and cement after the completion of two large cement plants now under construction.

India-Chile Trade Agreement

A trade agreement has been signed between India and Chile. The agreement will be valid up to the end of 1959.

Under the agreement India will supply Chile with ores, light engineering goods, jute, yarn and fabrics, cotton, shellac, mica, tea, tobacco, leather manufactures, hides and skins, handicrafts and cottage industry products and exposed films. Chile in return will supply India with pulses, barley, fresh and dried fruit, canned foodstuffs, steel, pig iron, copper, copper manufactures, sulphur, iodine and Chilean nitrate.

India also agreed to facilitate imports of Chilean nitrate during the first 3 years of the agreement, while Chile will substantially increase imports of certain Indian products.

UK Rotary Drilling Equipment for China

Victor Products (Wallsend) Ltd., secured an order from the China National Import Corporation to supply rotary drilling equipment to the value of £100,000. This equipment, it is understood, is required in connection with the development of China's coal mining industry.

The Chinese buyers emphasised the importance of quick delivery and the first

15 machines were to be delivered at the end of October. The Wallsend firm hopes that in the future it will be possible to send some of their engineers to China to discuss with Chinese mining engineers the problems of Chinese requirements in this field.

Indian Contract for Italy

A contract has been signed between the Finmeccanica (Italy's State-controlled mechanical industry) and the Indian Railways, concerning the construction of 423 tanker carriages. The contract is to be executed by the Cantieri Riuniti dell'Adriatico and the Officine Meccaniche Ferroviarie Pistoiesi. The total value is 800 million lire (approximately £500,000). The Cantieri Riuniti dell'Adriatico has already fulfilled orders from India.

Indonesian Mission in Italy

An Indonesian economic study mission has recently visited Northern Italy where delegates saw hydro-electric power stations, the Roscametti works in Brescia (machinery for brick making) and the Fiorentini works in Florence (excavators and civil engineering machinery). The delegation said that the prospects for Italo-Indonesian collaboration were very good, but longer credit terms were necessary for the acquisition of mechanical plant. They emphasised the usefulness of sending Italian experts and engineers

to Indonesia, and the acceptance of pupils and apprentices by Italian firms.

Pakistan Jute Board Appointment

Mr. K. S. Islam, C.S.P., till lately Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, has been appointed Chairman, Jute Board. He succeeds Mr. Ali Asghar, C.S.P., who has taken over as Food Commissioner in the Government of East Pakistan.

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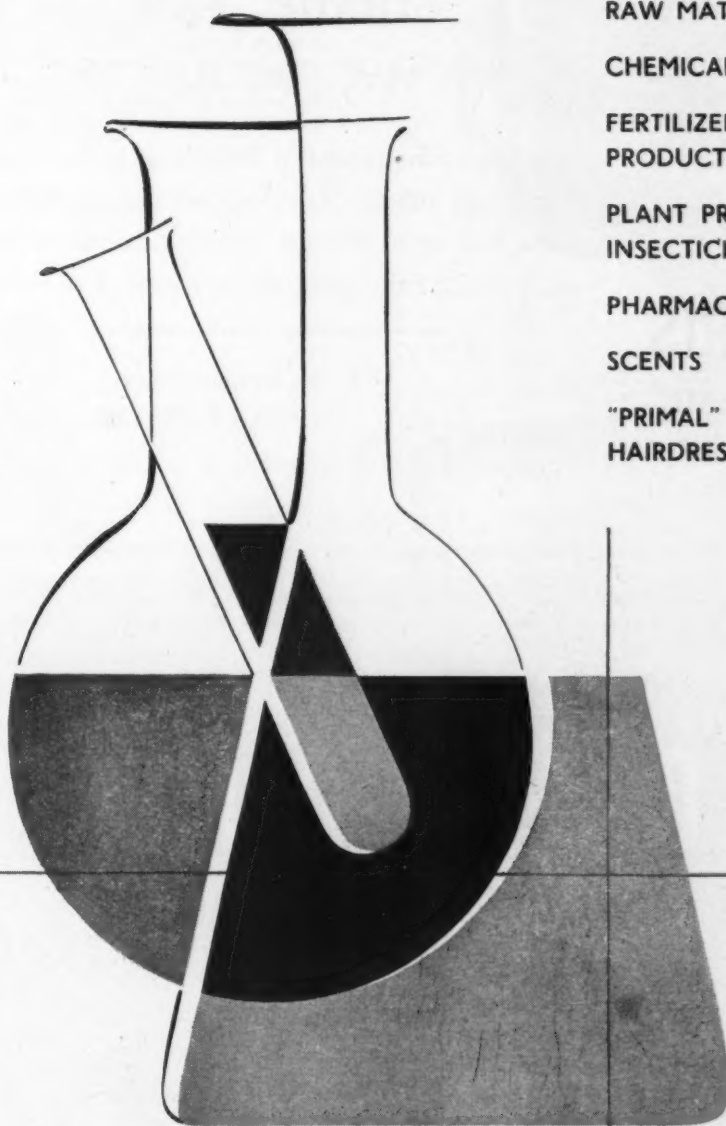
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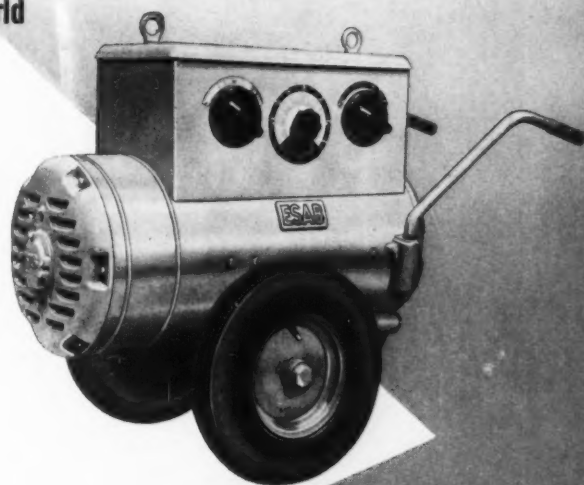
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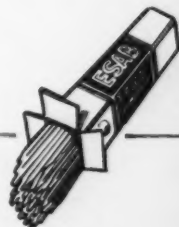
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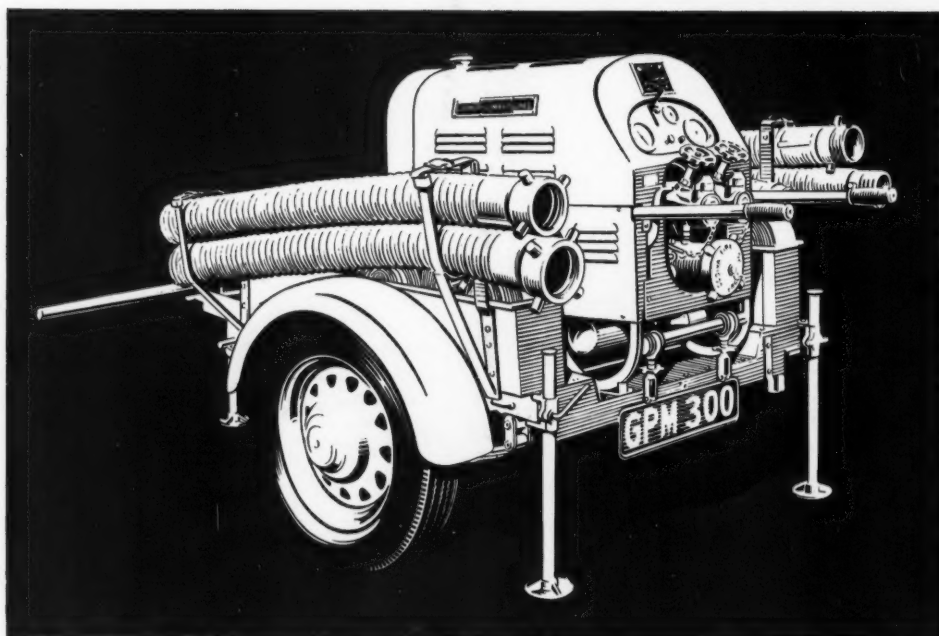
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